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'Two-Plus-Four' Talks in Bonn Viewed

PM2507152790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Jul 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the rubric "About Germany": "Consultations Continue"]

[Text] "Two-plus-four" talks between experts from the FRG, the GDR, France, Britain, the USSR, and the United States were held in Bonn.

The TASS correspondent was told at the FRG Foreign Ministry that representatives of the two German states and the four victorious powers summed up the interim results of work done so far by the "Six" in settling the foreign aspects of the building of German unity.

According to reports from diplomatic circles in Bonn, experts devoted much attention at their meeting to elaborating a final "two-plus-four" conference document of an international-legal nature. The sides' coincidence of opinion on a large n imber of points in the future document, and on its preamble in particular, was noted during the constructive talks. An agreement was reached to impart greater dynamism to this process, and to hold two two-day meetings for this purpose at expert level in August.

It is assumed that the final draft of the document could be agreed before the next meeting of the six states' foreign ministers, which will be held in Moscow at the end of September this year.

NATO Secretary General M. Woerner expressed agreement with the acoords on the military-political aspects of German unification reached during the Soviet-West German summit.

"I can unequivocally answer 'yes' to the question whether the results of this meeting are in line with NATO's position," he declared in an interview with the West German newspaper GENERAL-ANZEIGER. "The ice of the 'cold war' has begun to break. A new era in East-West relations has begun. We are not going to meet one another as enemies, but as partners."

According to the NATO secretary general, a mutually acceptable solution to the German question has become possible thanks to these fundamental changes. The NATO Council's London session played an important role in this, he believes.

NATO's Woerner on Germany, Soviet Interests

LD2507152490 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 29, 29 Jul-5 Aug 90 p 1

[Interview with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, by Georgiy Tolstyakov; place, date not specified;: "NATO Extends Offer of Cooperation"— first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Excerpt] The unprecedented visit to Moscow by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner began 10 days after NATO heads of state signe the London Declaration that marked, in the words of Woerner, "the most important reforms in our alliance's history." The turning of the military blocs of NATO and Warsaw Pact into political instruments of change and cooperation is linked with the hope of building a new Europe, a Europe of freedom, security and prosperity for all.

Secretary-General of NATO Manfred Woerner was kind enough to answer MN's questions.

MN: What's your vision of the chances for cooperation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact?

Woerner: The present stage of development is characterized as a phase of transition from confrontation to cooperation. We are trying to establish an all-European order in which all nations of Europe and of North America could find their legitimate place.

MN: There is mounting concern in Soviet society over the plans to include a united Germany in NATO. You of course understand the worries of a country that lost nearly 30 million of its citizens in the last war.

Woerner: First, we are not threatening the Soviet Union. Our alliance is an alliance of 16 free and democratic nations; they would never agree on an attack or an aggression. Second, we are sincerely in favour of arms control. We have been inferior in weapons and personnel. Now we want to go down to the lowest possible level so that you have a tangible guarantee that whatever happens nobody will be able to attack the Soviet manpower strength of a united Germany in the European context where all forces are limited. Again, this satisfies the security interests of the Soviet Union. We will not extend neutral troops beyond what is now the Federal Republic of Germany. Again, this is in order to satisfy the security interests of the Soviet Union, and I would look at it even from a different angel: What do you gain? You gain, first, stability. Second, you gain partners. Look, I'm a German. I was eleven when the war ended. I really understand how Soviets feel about Germany. They still remember the terrible consequences of the last war and the losses. But you should also see that Germans have learned their lesson. We are now looking to the future. We do not want to start any more wars. We are now trying to prevent any kind of dictatorship in Germany. We are integrated in an alliance of free nations. We are prepared to take any commitments and you would gain in us friends, partners who cooperate with you economically, politically, socially, culturally. And that is what I think the Soviet Unions needs—real partners, sincere friends. Not only the Germans—Americans, the English, the French. You are gaining friends in our whole alliance, the biggest alliance found in this world. [passage omitted]

Gen Batenin on Possible Soviet-NATO Cooperation

LD2407164590 Hamburg DPA in German 1552 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—In the words of the Soviet disarmament expert General Geliy Viktorovich Batenin, NATO can become Moscow's partner in the case of an external threat to the Soviet Union posed by a third party. In that eventuality, the building of a joint NATO-USSR military organization is even possible, Batenin stated in an interview for the Bonn daily DIE WELT, published in advance today. The CPSU expert added: One could say "with some certainty," "that the Europeans will achieve a cooperative, nonaligned security structure." However institutionalization of the CSCE in itself would be sufficient to maintain stability and guarantee security.

Batenin on NATO, GDR Troop Withdrawal

AU2507114590 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 25 Jul 90 p 5

[Unattributed interview with General Geli Viktorovich Batenin, disarmament expert in the CPSU Central Committee; place and date not given: "Moscow Will Regard NATO as a Partner Against Threats by Third Parties"]

[Text] [Question] How could one conceive a new security structure in Europe from the Soviet point of view?

[Batenin] With a certain degree of optimism one may claim that the Europeans will achieve a cooperative nonaligned security structure. What is important today is the transition period, in which one will have to eliminate, above all, military confrontation between East and West in central Europe.

The security structures of the blocks will change, although in different ways. One can assume that NATO will preserve its military organization and even make it more perfect, while at the same time it will politicize its institutions and adapt the conditions as well as the character of its activities to the EC.

The Warsaw Pact will lose its military centralization in many respects. It will be transformed to a political organization of the East European states, and I believe that it will focus on bilateral military relations between the USSR and the member states. Relations between the USSR and Poland might even become closer as a consequence of loosening relations with other Warsaw Pact states.

During this transition period the all-European security model will probably rely on the transformed blocks and new CSCE institutions. In the future, united centers might emerge to control security, stability, and disarmament on the basis of regional—the Eastern (Warsaw Pact) and the Western (NATO) military-political centers—which would have to be created by reshaping the existing military commands.

For this purpose, NATO must first of all change its orientation toward possible sources of threat from outside Europe, and second, as far as internal European tasks are concerned, it must be able to fulfill informative and coordinating functions for maintaining the military potentials of the European states on a level that is sufficient for defense purposes.

[Question] Is USSR membership in NATO possible?

[Batenin] Well, without giving it enough thought one might believe that this idea is absurd, since, after all, NATO and the Warsaw Pact were created to oppose each other. Today they both have a high combat power and are able to carry out attacks. Stability and reducing the danger of a war in Europe to a minimum have been achieved only through political means.

Yet complete security for the Europeans will be guaranteed only by considerable and decisive troop and arms reduction on the continent, by essentially extending confidence-building measures, by legitimizing all conceivable measures of control and inspection in the sphere of military potentials, and by renouncing strategic military objectives of establishing battlefields in Europe. Institutionalizing the CSCE would basically be enough to maintain stability and guaranteed security.

Thus, the blocks would lose their current internal importance and the USSR would regard NATO as a partner in the all-European security system against external threat or, as is sometimes said, against a threat by a third party. This might create conditions under which it would be useful for NATO and the USSR to join a uniform military organization. The sphere of pooling security potentials from the Atlantic to the Urals would certainly become bigger.

[Question] How long will Soviet soldiers remain in Germany (GDR)?

[Batenin] The troop withdrawal would probably take us three to four years. This was mentioned by Mikhail Gorbachev in his meeting with Helmut Kohl. In this stage of perestroyka, the withdrawal of the Western Group of the Armed Forces poses a major socioeconomic problem to the USSR, which, in view of the internal and international effects, must be systematically solved as an important political task of the USSR and a united German state.

NATO No Longer Sees USSR as Enemy

PM2607100990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Elements of New Strategy"]

[Text] Bonn, 22 Jul—The reaching of the Soviet-West German accords on external aspects of German unification, including agreement of the question of its NATO membership, enables the bloc's leadership to start consistently implementing a new North Atlantic alliance strategy based on a smaller strength of armed forces and

armaments. U.S. General John Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander Europe, said this in an interview with the newspaper WELT AM SONNTAG. "Our new strategy," he stressed, "will no longer contain an enemy image. We extended the hand of friendship to the East at the London NATO Council summit. The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact are no longer our enemies."

The key element in the new strategy is the repudiation of the concept of the so-called "forward defense," the general continued. "We no longer want forward defense," J. Galvin noted. "It will now be a matter of the defense of the whole of NATO's territory."

According to J. Galvin, most of the basic principles of the new strategy are already being examined at present. Among them he mentioned the high mobility of the armed forces, the increased role of reserve components, making military formations multinational, and retaining nuclear deterrence and a U.S. presence in Europe. According to him, the need for this stems primarily from the "factor of potential instability in the USSR." "Even after the disarmament process is concluded," he affirmed, "the Soviet Union will remain a great power with a potential instability, a potential for hegemonist ideas, and a potential for intimidating the rest of Europe." This potential, the general argued, can only be compensated for with the assistance of the United States. Therefore some U.S. Forces must remain in Europe.

Gratitude Expressed for Congress Greetings

LD2507171390 Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee expressed gratitude to the foreign parties, organisations, statesmen and public figures who sent their greetings to the 28th CPSU Congress.

The Central Committee assured that the CPSU would continue to develop a fruitful dialogue and take actions in solidarity with communist, socialist, social-democratic, labour, national-democratic, ecological and liberal parties, and other political trends in the interests of the demilitarisation and democratisation of international relations and building solid structures of global security, social justice and progress.

United States & Canada

U.S. Conducts Fourth Underground Nuclear Test

LD2607100490 Moscow TASS in English 0958 GMT 26 Jul 90

[Text] San Francisco July 26 TASS—The United States conducted an underground nuclear test at a testing range in Nevada on Wednesday, a spokesman for the U.S. Department of Energy said.

He described the test as successful.

According to ASSOCIATED PRESS, the blast was the fourth underground explosion this year. Its yield was less than 20 kilotonnes and it was the 703rd nuclear test in Nevada since 1951.

Twelve explosions were conducted in Nevada last year.

President's Speech on Europe Termed 'Propaganda'

LD2607095190 Moscow TASS in English 0942 GMT 26 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondents Igor Borisenko and Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Washington July 26 TASS—President Bush spoke at the captive nations week ceremony in the White House on Wednesday, lavishly peppering his speech with cold war terminology.

These propaganda events have been held regularly over the past 32 years, and they have been attended by all U.S. presidents, from Eisenhower to Reagan, whose speeches were full of confrontational rhetoric.

The present President was no exception. "Previous captive nations ceremonies have not been moments of joy, but really rather of serious rededication and sadness that so many in our world lived in the throes of tyranny," said Bush addressing a large group of congressmen and high-ranking administration officials.

"The revolution of 1989 was stunning, thrilling—clearly a historic time." Speaking of his tour of East European countries last year, he noted that "We were deeply moved as the changes swept across the continent, bringing within reach the vision of a Europe truly whole and free."

The President's speech contained a thinly veiled attempt to reap dividends for changes in Eastern Europe. "For four long decades America and her allies have remained united and strong in our mission for peace and freedom," he said.

"That strength has at long last borne some fruit."

Bush also harped on the "Baltic" theme, traditional for such events. He said that he wanted "to remember especially" Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, mentioning "our unflagging support for their long quest for national self-determination."

"The road ahead is going to be difficult, but we can now join them in looking forward with hope to the day when their long-cherished dreams will become reality," Bush continued.

The President called on all those present to "work together so that next year this dream of freedom extends to all those countries where it is now denied" and pray that "the light of liberty will shine across our entire planet, and that the next captive nations week will be the last."

Soviet, U.S. Experts Debate Current Issues

LD2507114890 Moscow TASS in English 1122 GMT 25 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondents Igor Makurin and Vadim Talanov]

[Text] Seattle July 25 TASS—The general debate at a conference of high-ranking executives on expanding cooperation in Soviet-American relations ended at Washington State University here.

It was held under the programme of civic exchanges of the Goodwill Games and attended by politicians, public figures, academics and young people from the two countries.

The forum concentrated on the reduction of military spending, the re-orientation of the national economies, environmental protection and prospects for trade and economic cooperation, including the Pacific region.

The debate showed that the end of the cold war has created a new situation in international politics and the world economic system, which inspires hope and provokes some concern.

Forum participants noted that cuts in military spending would help channel considerable resources from the defence sector to civilian industries and implement several social programmes at local and national levels.

At the same time they said that cuts in military spending would negatively influence some industrial areas closely connected with arms production and military research.

The sides recognised that the decades of the cold war negatively influenced various sections of population in the two countries, which complicates the transition of the national economies to a peaceful footing.

American and Soviet experts agreed that, although the conversion of munitions factories to civil production is a complicated process, this process is necessary and the only economically viable choice.

Participants extensively debated the ecological situation. Speakers noted that until recently pollution, contamination and destruction of nature were considered a characteristic feature of only industrialised nations. However, experience shows that ecological problems face virtually all countries, irrespective of their economic development.

The destruction of the ozone layer, the depletion of the earth's genetic base caused by the extinction of some biological species and the global greenhouse effect are spreading to all countries, transcending state borders.

A campaign against air pollution can be fought through a search for technological, economic and legal solutions on the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements.

"The several days of the conference have demonstrated the efficiency of such events. They offer a forum in which to compare views and approaches of people who are directly engaged in the two states' policy development, including the conversion of the defence industries," V. Tsybukh, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Youth, told TASS.

"Despite differences on some issues, including prospects for political and economic cooperation in the Pacific, both sides showed a desire to achieve consensus on the most important issues.

"The sides agreed that all issues under discussion should be under permanent control. They also recognised the need to exchange experience and information continually.

"The meeting approved a proposal to set up a permanent consultative body that would operate in the interval between the Goodwill Games. The body should involve a greater number of U.S. legislators to maintain a constructive dialogue."

The Soviet delegation also included Soviet lawmakers D. Abramyan, V. Yerokhin and B.Rogatin.

Citizens Meet on U.S.-Soviet Cooperation

LD2507154790 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 25 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondents Nikolay Kondratenko and Aleksandr Rachko]

[Text] Leningrad July 25 TASS—International cooperation and universal security aspects were the focus of today's discussion at the morning plenary meeting of the 17th Dartmouth meeting of representatives of the Soviet and American public, currently underway in Leningrad.

The reference points for the broad-scale exchange of views were provided by the principal reports made by co-chairmen of the meeting—American scientist Norman Cousins and his Soviet opposite number Georgiy Arbatov.

Cousins recalled that the public of the two countries has already been cooperating within the framework of the Dartmouth meeting for thirty years. "But in the past we followed in the steps of our governments, condemning each other," he noted. "Now we are facing the task to see the deep underlying relations of our communication, to find what brings us close to each other. We are happy that we are no longer enemies but partners, equally concerned and anxious about the fate of the planet."

Cousins noted that many problems facing the two countries are similar. "Americans feel greatly sympathetic with what is going on in the Soviet Union, because their domestic affairs are consonant with yours," he said.

We, too, are now seeking to pay more attention to social problems and charity and in this respect your advice is not without interest to us. This is why the time is just right now to make our relations work for the common aims of strengthening peace and making mankind prosperous."

Academician Georgiy Arbatov presented his own view on perestroyka in the Soviet Union. Its unquestionable achievement, he said, is glasnost. Time will show whether the process is irreversible. One thing is already clear—the people will not return to the past totalitarian state of society.

Another positive aspect of perestroyka is political reform. "It is due to political reform that we have laid down the fundamentals of parliamentarianism. New political leaders and new approaches to the solution of international issues have appeared," Arbatov said.

"The Soviet Union has done much to end the cold war, depriving the United States of its traditional enemy no.1. This is yet another result of perestroyka."

According to Arbatov, the national economy remains the weak spot in the total balance of perestroyka achievements. Government is also to blame for the present deplorable state of the economy, as it cannot offer an effective program to overcome the crisis.

Discussion of prospects for cooperation was continued in working groups.

CIA Funding Decision Deferred at Bush's Request

PM2607095790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jul 90 First Edition p 1

[Dispatch by TASS correspondent A. Korolev: "Decision Postponed"]

[Text] Washington, 21 Jul—The U.S. House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence has postponed until September a decision on the CIA secret operations budget for 1991. "This was done," THE WASHINGTON POST writes, "after President George Bush advocated such a step in view of the 'delicate talks' now being conducted, which could affect

Angola, Cambodia, and Afghanistan. Secret operations in these regions are causing arguments between Congress and the administration."

As Committee Chairman Anthony Beilenson admitted, he agreed to not examine the question of appropriations for secret operations after receiving a telephone call from the White House. This aspect aside, the U.S. intelligence department's draft budget for the next fiscal year should be around $30 billion.

According to THE WASHINGTON POST figures, the administration has requested $50 million for military aid to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] in Angola, and also approximately $10 million for secret military training and military supplies for the "noncommunist resistance" in Cambodia. As for Afghanistan, without giving future budget estimates for similar aid, the newspaper notes that it amounts to $300-400 million in the current fiscal year.

U.S. Company Promotes Soviet Satellite TV

PM2507124990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jul 90

[Report by A. Goryanov and cameraman N. Glebov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] We all seem to be moving toward a time when we will have satellite television.

[Goryanov] A collective antenna capable of receiving television programs from virtually all countries of the world was recently shown on the "Vremya" program. [video shows satellite dish] We then announced that this antenna, which was, incidentally, the first installed in Moscow, is one of those provided for free by America's noncommercial public organization "22d Century Foundation" [as heard]. [video shows CNN publicity] Let us recall that this foundation financed the meeting between Soviet and U.S. veterans of the Vietnam and Afghan wars, along with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's tour of the United States. Discussion about developing satellite and television communications in our country continued today at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center. [video shows meeting at press center] The foundation's president, Anthony Easton, confirmed his intention of promoting the creation in the USSR of what he called a society of information for everyone. That is, via television and other communications systems, Soviet citizens will obtain access to Western data banks. One of the participants in this program is Martin Pompadur.

[M. Pompadur, president of the "R.P." company] During these few days in the USSR we have had talks at union and Russian ministries and I must say that our plans met with complete understanding.

[Goryanov] Is this business for America, or some kind of philanthropic gesture?

[Pompadur] It is both business and, of course, a step to accommodate Soviet society, which is opening up to world civilization. I think that the development of cable television and other modern communications systems in the USSR is a thing of the not too distant future.

Donates Antennas

PM2607101990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 7

[Report by A. Protsenko under the rubric "Details for IZVESTIYA": "One Hundred Antennas for Communication with the World"]

[Text] Staffers of the USSR Social Inventions Fund can now watch four foreign television channels in their own office.

Maybe satellite television will also come into apartments in the not too distant future. Technically this is not difficult: It is sufficient to install on the roof a special antenna with an appropriate electronic device, like the ones at Central Television, TASS, the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center, and the Savoy Hotel for foreigners. Another question: Where is one to be found? It is very expensive. It is not for sale in the Soviet Union.

The USSR Social Inventions Fund has gotten an antenna for nothing, as a gift from the 22d Century Foundation, a global public charity registered in the United States. They will soon begin installing a further 99 antennas in our country under the "Satellite Television Across the USSR" project—in universities, institutes, certain schools, public organizations, and innovative business organizations. Fifty antennas will be installed in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and 50 in other union republics. They are all a gift of the 22d Century Foundation.

A natural question: Why have the Americans decided to make us such a rare present?

"We want to draw our societies closer with the help of high technology, such as satellite television for example," Anthony Easton, chairman of the 22d Century Foundation, said. "I have such an antenna in my own yard in California. I can watch your television 12 hours a day. True, the 'Vremya' program is on in our country in the morning rather than the evening. Conversely, we go to bed with the '120 Minutes' program. There are now approximately three million such antennas in the United States."

Anthony Easton now wants Soviet citizens to have the same opportunities and to watch U.S. television broadcasts or transmissions from Europe—whatever people want. This is why the 22d Century Foundation is making a present of 100 satellite communications antennas. And the USSR Social Inventions Fund has decided to organize the production of such antennas in the Soviet Union.

"With the help of our fund we are thinking of opening faculties in various universities, where it will be possible to train in modern professions associated with satellite

television and the new information technologies," G. Aleferenko, chairman of the USSR Social Inventions Fund, said. "Together with three U.S. companies we have already started implementing several business projects: the production of satellite antennas, their installation, and training abroad for maintenance personnel.

"A huge base for the production of such antennas is being released as a result of conversion. We will train the people, while the Americans will provide the technology...."

It is quite possible that the USSR Social Inventions Fund will be quicker than our ministries and departments in organizing and starting up the production of satellite television communications systems. But then another question arises: The 100 antennas which Anthony Easton and the foundation which he heads are giving us are not so few. It is theoretically possible to plug in several dozen television receivers to each such antenna. Is it possible? Is it permitted? Is a special license needed for this? It will be a pity if each of the 100 powerful four-meter television "dishes" can serve just one television set each.

Northeast Asia

Possible U.S. Forces Cuts in Region Noted

OW2407055590 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Text] Washington has been discussing the possibility of reducing its Armed Forces in the Asia-Pacific region. The United States is preparing to take the first step in this regard although this step may be a small one; it is planning to cut 10 percent of its forces stationed in this region. The Soviet Union has on many occasions put forward proposals for limiting the (?offensive nature) of the Soviet and U.S. navies, reducing their nuclear capabilities, and cutting down the scales and numbers of military exercises. It appears that such proposals will be put into practice. Soviet political scientist (Badzhanov) comments on current events:

Of course, we welcome all this. Meanwhile, I think that as the disarmament process has just begun in the Asia-Pacific region, other countries should also participate in such Soviet-U.S. efforts. Many authoritative experts maintain that disarmament in the Asia-Pacific region must be carried out by the whole world on a a comprehensive basis and within the framework of fulfilling the main task—to build a system of universal security for the region. Otherwise, what would await us?

This perhaps merits our consideration. If Moscow and Washington were to completely abandon their military roles in this region, how would things develop? How would other participants in international relations in this region act? For instance, Japan has long been expanding its preparations for war. In its capital, people are talking about the need for Japan to maintain its tremendous economic and political interests in the Asia-Pacific region; hence, Japan needs to strengthen its defensive forces. For Tokyo strategists, the diminution of protection from the Pentagon will only add fuel to the flames.

Should Japan begin to fill the vacuum left by the Soviet Union and the United States when they take a back seat in this region, it would not be difficult to anticipate how Japan's neighbors might react. China would certainly react to this by increasing its military strength. Then, ASEAN countries which are already somewhat concerned about Japanese militarism may not remain indifferent to Japan becoming a big military power. Furthermore, any increase in China's military strength would not win the acclaim of the ASEAN countries.

Waves of war preparations would affect the ASEAN countries and the South Pacific, especially Australia and New Zealand. It will not be difficult to anticipate that strategic deployment in the Korean peninsula would be complicated; North and South Korea might further escalate their arms race when they perceive that they could no longer depend on anyone else.

Soviet political scientist (Badzhanov) points out: The escalation itself of an arms race is dangerous. In a vacuum, regional conflicts and competition between neighboring countries may be even more dangerous and unpredictable. It should be understood that there are many potential sources of tension in the Asia-Pacific region—such as the question of ownership of islands in South China Sea; the dispute between Beijing and Tokyo over Diaoyutai Island; territorial claims betwen Malaysia and the Philippines and between Thailand and Laos; the Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Timor issues; and friction between Indonesia and Australia and between Thailand and Indochinese countries.

In short, considering the above situation, one may reach this conclusion: The disarmament issue should be settled under a system of universal regional security to be built through the joint efforts of all Asia-Pacific countries. Such a security system will be able to lay the only possible foundation for consolidating international relations and formulating a collective strategy for the strengthening of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region.

Progress Foreseen in Japanese Territory Dispute

OW2507115590 Tokyo KYODO in English 1047 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, July 25 KYODO—Supreme Soviet President Anatoliy Lukyanov on Wednesday predicted some progress over a territorial dispute between Japan and the Soviet Union when President Mikhail Gorbachev visits Tokyo in 1991, Japanese officials said.

Lukyanov, in a meeting with a Japanese parliamentary mission, reiterated Moscow's position to call for the

conclusion of a bilateral peace treaty while activating economic relations between the two countries.

Lukyanov also told the mission that Gorbachev's Tokyo visit might help break an impasse over the territorial dispute, the officials said.

The mission is headed by Yoshio Sakurauchi, speaker of the House of Representatives. The delegation is currently on a four-day visit to Moscow through Friday.

During their two hours of talks, Sakurauchi pressed Lukyanov to listen to Japan's longstanding calls for the return of the four islands—Kunashiri, Etorofu, Shikotan, and the Habomais, which were seized by the Soviets after World War II.

Lukyanov expressed dissatisfaction with a Houston summit declaration which took up the Japan-Soviet territorial dispute and called for an early resolution to it, saying it is undesirable for outside parties to say something about the matter, according to the officials.

The Supreme Soviet president, asked about how to promote disarmament in the Asia-Pacific region, explained Gorbachev's efforts to remove nuclear arms from the region, the officials said.

Gorbachev Aide Discusses Issue

OW2607130090 Tokyo KYODO in English 1237 GMT 26 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, July 26 KYODO—A key aide to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev told Japanese House of Representatives Speaker Yoshio Sakurauchi on Thursday that the Soviet Union and Japan will be able to resolve a territorial issue over the four Soviet-held northern islands in the wide spectrum of problems between the two countries.

Aleksndr Yakovlev, a member of the Presidential Council and Gorbachev's key aide, made the remark in his talks with Sakurauchi, who is here on a four-day visit through Friday.

Japan has claimed the four northern islands—Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan, and the Habomais—off eastern Hokkaido in northern Japan since the Soviet Union occupied them at the closing stage of World War II.

Yakovlev said economic relations are the most important issue for both countries. The Soviet Union is having difficulties in improving its economy.

He also said there are moves toward large-scale disarmament in the Asian and Pacific areas, which the Kremlin is ready to follow up by holding bilateral or multilateral talks.

Japanese Dignitary Meets Gorbachev in Moscow

LD2507173190 Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] In the Moscow Kremlin today, President Mikhail Gorbachev received the chairman of Japan's House of Representatives, Yoshio Sakurauchi, who is also head of the parliamentary association for friendship with the Soviet Union.

In the course of a brief discussion the two sides agreed that interparliamentary dialogue has a positive effect on the promotion of bilateral contacts in the work for neighborliness and mutual trust. Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the wish that relations between the two neighboring countries will remain good.

Favors Good Relations

LD2507193390 Moscow TASS in English 1918 GMT 25 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergei Zharkov]

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev met in the Kremlin today House of Representatives of the Japanese parliament Speaker Yoshio Sakurauchi, who is visiting the Soviet Union at the head of the Japanese parliamentary delegation.

Gorbachev said he was sincerely glad to have this meeting, since ties between parliaments were of immense importance at present. "Japan is our neighbour and we want to have good relations with it, better relations than now," he said.

Sakurauchi thanked Gorbachev for finding time for the conversation despite the pressure of work and said that, as a representative of the supreme body of state authority, he regarded as his duty to raise the issue of the so-called northern territories (meaning the four islands of the Kurile chain, to which Japan makes territorial claims).

Gorbachev noted that there was nobody in the Soviet Union who would say that the USSR has other peoples' territory. "All this is confirmed by post-war documents. It was a severe war for all countries. International decisions were made on the basis of the post-war realities and we abide by them. I do not want to launch a discussion today on the issue that was repeatedly discussed with representatives of Japan. I can repeat today: We do not have a territorial issue," Gorbachev said.

Sakurauchi said: "You frequently speak about the Asia-Pacific region. We share your views, but the new age in it is not only the relations between the USSR and Japan. [sentence as received] It is relations with all countries in the reigon. We are prepared to pay heed to the Soviet public's view on all issues, but I think you, too, should take into account the Japanese public's opinion."

Gorbachev said he hoped for a constructive dialogue on other topics. "We live at a time of sweeping changes in

all areas of life and then suddenly find ourselves returning again to our circuits," he noted.

In Sakurauchi's opinion, all problems could be attended during the top-level visit to Japan. "Certainly, we have that to talk about and we should search for opportunities in cooperation. When you come to Japan, we will be able to talk about everything," Sakurauchi said.

Gorbachev questioned the expediency of the visit if only one such issue was on the agenda. "We stand for the improvement of relations, but we should look for opportunities to achieve it, for ways towards each other. We favour good relations but, regrettably, they are not notable for dynamics today. Possibly, we will understand each other better with time," Gorbachev said.

Nakayama's Remarks on Aid to USSR Criticized

PM2607131590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by S. Agafonov: "What Japanese Foreign Minister Allows Himself; on Love of Metaphor and Diplomatic Ethics"]

[Text] Tokyo—For slightly more than the past two weeks Japanese Foreign Minister Nakayama has on two occasions shone with an exceptional literary gift on both occasions inspired by the "Soviet theme."

Metaphor first struck the minister at a meeting within the framework of the Houston round of talks of the "Big Seven" where, recalling his medical education, he made the following witticism about granting the USSR Western credits and financial aid: Giving money to the Union is like treating a diabetic with sugar. They say the joke was very much to the liking above all of the author himself, arousing an attraction toward variations, materialized last Friday when Nakayama addressed the big shots of the Japanese business world in Nagoya. There it is true the Soviet Union inspired the Japanese Foreign Ministry head not to a medical but to a sewage disposal analogy and, moved by this analogy, he compared financing Soviet perestroyka and economic aid to our country to throwing money into a sewer.

The succulence of the latest metaphor struck not only those present but also the Japanese press and political circles in that remarkable country. The result of this "shock" was a series of concerned publications and statements by serious people regarding the minister's literary exercises, which could not so much please lovers of humor as sully the "clean leaf" in Soviet-Japanese relations, which Tokyo intends to turn over in September in expectation of the arrival of USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and a little later, next year, during the Soviet president's planned visit to Japan. This concern was so serious that the Japanese Foreign Ministry was obliged the very next day after the "sewer metaphor" to issue official explanations of what Nakayama meant by his joke and of what he had in mind. It is clear from the explanations that the minister meant that it is inexpedient to grant financial aid to the USSR inasmuch as Moscow's military expenditure is still too great and there are no real steps to move to a market economy, not to mention the obstacle that is the territorial problem. All these explanations comprise Tokyo's principled position on this question, which was recorded in particular at the recent meeting of the "big seven" in Houston and therefore "the incident is exhausted."

I do not intend to encroach on the principledness of the Japanese position, to which Tokyo has "complete and indivisible" rights: Principles are a serious matter and as we know they cannot waived. The snag is however that Nakayama's "jokes" have very little bearing on this principledness but do concern a delicate subject like diplomatic ethics. It is not only a matter of our country but also of the no less principled position on the question of economic partnership with the Soviet Union to which the FRG, France, and Italy adhere. The Japanese minister's caustic remarks are addressed as much to them as they are to us. And if we take into account this important nuance then we must inevitably admit that Mr. Nakayama has run up against major complications at least for himself personally.

Giving advice to a minister, especially a foreign country's minister, is probably blasphemous but I shall venture to commit that sin: It very much seems to me that the time has come to make an immediate public apology. Without citing the "incorrect interpretation in the press" and without complaining of being "misunderstood"—simply apologize for the lack of tact, which could happen to anyone, even a minister....

DPRK Proposes Measures To Promote Talks

PM2507144190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jul 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by TASS correspondent V. Nadashkevich: "DPRK Proposal"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 23 Jul—The DPRK has proposed to the American side that concrete measures be taken to create an atmosphere favorable to North-South dialogue and the easing of tension on the Korean peninsula. The proposal, KCNA reported, was made at the latest sitting of the Korean military armistice commission in Panmunjom. Major General Choe Hui-ung, leader of the DPRK delegation, noted that a large number of his fellow countrymen—from the DPRK, South Korea, and abroad—as well as journalists and guests will attend the all-national conference for peace and the unification of Korea planned for 15 August in Panmunjom. In this connection it is essential that measures be taken to ensure their safety and help open the doors between the North and South.

The DPRK proposed, in particular, that both sides evacuate all types of weapons and military personnel

from the area of the Korean military armistice commission headquarters in Panmunjom and the joint protection zone and that guard posts be removed.

Plan for North-South Korean Visits Viewed

SK2507230090 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Commentary by station commentator (Sergey Petrov) on North-South free travel through Panmunjom—from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] In this hour, we will talk about a new proposal for realizing free mutual visits between the people in the North and the South through Panmunjom, which is located on the Demarcation Line dividing the DPRK and the ROK. Let us first recall the history of this proposal. This proposal began with DPRK President Kim Il-song's New Year's address of this year. In this address, President Kim Il-song put forward a proposal for realizing free mutual visits and contacts between the people of the North and the South and for destroying a reinforced concrete wall built along the Demarcation Line by Seoul in the seventies.

The ROK supported this initiative and insisted that the wall is an antitank barrier and cannot be an obstacle to mutual contacts between the North and the South. The "Team Spirit" exercise, a U.S.-South Korean joint military exercise, suspended the dialogue between the North and the South.

However, on 5 July, the North side put forward a new proposal. In other words, the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland of the DPRK declared that the DPRK would open its area in Panmunjom and hold a pan-national rally for peace there in Korea and its reunification, so that South Korean people can visit the northern half of the country on 15 August on the 45th anniversary of the liberation of Korea from Japanese rule.

It did not take long for the ROK to reply to this. On 27 July, ROK President No Tae-u declared the intent to open the South side's area in Panmunjom for people from the northern half of the country for five days, from 13 to 17 August. Thus, the people in the North and the South would be able to make mutual visits for the second time since their mutual visits in 1985.

Pyongyang responded to this proposal with three conditions. The three conditions include the elimination of the concrete wall by 12 August, the abolition of the South Korean National Security Law, and the release of those South Korean detainees who visited the DPRK without the approval of their government. Among them are Rev. Mun Ik-hwan and Yim Su-kyong, who participated in the 13th World Festival of Youths and Students held in Pyongyang. Another condition calls for Seoul not to hinder the pan-national rally to be held in Panmunjom. It is not likely at all that Seoul will accept this demand. Thus, the situation has become a dilemma.

The answer to this question is closely related to the fact that the attempt to open Panmunjom [passage indistinct]. There have existed many restrictions for the people in the North and the South in making contacts with the people of the other side. The restrictions are caused by the state of military confrontation in effect since 1953. The North-South dialogue to seek ways to eliminate such a situation of military confrontation has continued for years. However, the dialogue has not yet produced successful results.

On the other hand, in recent years, contacts have been resumed for preparations for holding talks between the (?premiers) [suban] of the governments of the DPRK and ROK. However, the contacts have been made under a complicated situation. Not long ago, Pyongyang postponed a North-South parliamentary meeting using the excuse of a crisis in the South Korean National Assembly. DPRK publications carried slogans calling for the dissolution of the Assembly and for the resignation of the South Korean Government.

Seoul is checking the activities of the dissident and leftist forces to block democratic reforms. An example of this is its opposition to revising the National Security Law. Besides this, the two sides have not yet discussed the issue of opening and [word indistinct] Panmunjom. Is it possible to realize free exchanges and visits between the North and the South in such an atmosphere? Of course, those who are responsible for solving the present situation are none other than the Korean people themselves. However, what is obvious is that practical work is necessary to solve the present situation.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Meets Indian Counterpart 25 Jul

LD2507164490 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Indian counterpart Inder Kumar Gujral met here today to discuss the international situation. They discovered that the Soviet and Indian viewpoints on all key issues of the international situation were either identical or approximately so.

The Indian foreign minister is accompanying Indian Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh on his official friendly visit to the Soviet Union.

The ministers expressed the desire to deepen interaction in the United Nations and contribute to raising the efficiency of that organization's work and fuller realisation of its peace-making potential.

It was noted that the Soviet Union and India are prepared to make a substantial contribution to the development of positive tendencies in the Asian-Pacific region.

The sides stressed the importance of turning the Asian-Pacific region from a region of militarisation and confrontation into a zone of security and cooperation.

The ministers agreed that the time has come to speed up the process of adjusting negotiation structures in the Asian-Pacific region and work out measures to cut arms and build up confidence.

Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that the processes of building peace-loving communities in Europe and Asia must eventually lead to a single system of security and cooperation across the entire Eurasian space.

This thesis was recevied by Gujral with interest and understanding.

The ministers favoured the prompt political solution of the Afghan issue on the basis of national reconciliation with a view to ensuring Afghanistan's status as a sovereign, non-aligned and independent state.

During the discussion of the Cambodian problem, the sides confirmed their determination to promote the earliest achievement of a comprehensive settlement in that country by way of holding free and fair elections.

Inder Kumar Gujral invited the Soviet minister of foreign affairs to visit India when it suits him. The invitation was received with gratitude.

Agreement on Kashmir

BK2607034790 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0240 GMT 26 Jul 90

[Text] The Soviet Union has endorsed India's position that the Kashmir issue should not be internationalized, as it would complicate the situation. The Soviet viewpoint was conveyed by the foreign minister, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, to the external affairs minister, Mr. I.K. Gujral, during a 90-minute meeting they had in Moscow yesterday. Mr. Shevardnadze said there is a complete understanding and no misconception or contradiction in the Soviet Union's approach to the Kashmir question. He also said that the Soviet prime minister will convey his country's position to the U.S. secretary of state, Mr. James Baker.

Briefing newsmen on the talks, an official spokesman said Mr. Gujral gave a detailed account of India's relationship with Pakistan and its focus on improving ties with the neighbors. Both the foreign ministers agreed that there should be more regular meetings at their level.

Singh Continues Visit, Arrives in Uzbekistan

LD2507144990 Tashkent Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Summary from poor reception] The prime minister of the Republic of India V.P. Singh arrived in Tashkent today after the completion of the talks in Moscow. At the Tashkent International Airport he was met by Karimov, president of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], and Mirsaidov, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek SSR. V.P. Singh will be visiting Samarkand and Bukhara.

Meets With Uzbek President

LD2507165590 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Tashkent July 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vadim Gladilov:

Following his talks in Moscow, Indian Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh arrived in Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan, today. The trip is part of Singh's official friendly visit to the USSR.

On the same day, Singh was received by Uzbek President Islam Karimov.

During the talk it was stressed that Singh's visit to the USSR demonstrated that intensive Soviet-Indian top-level contacts were deepening and persistently leading to the extension of mutually beneficially cooperation in a variety of Areas. This has been reaffirmed afresh by the signing in Moscow of the joint Soviet-Indian statement, developing the provisions of the Dehli Declaration.

Karimov expressed satisfaction with the state of business contacts between Uzbekistan and India. One example is Indian builders' participation in erecting top-class tourist facilities in Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara and the launching of several joint ventures.

Karimov said cultural contacts betwen the two republics, the peoples of which are bound by ancient historical roots, became a tradition. Karimov looks optimistically at prospects for boosting ties between Uzbekistan and India. He said the proclaimed sovereignty of the republic, its greater autonomy would faciltate their development.

For his part, Singh emphasised that the government headed by him attached immense importance to strengthening and developing direct links with all Soviet republics, specificaly with Uzbekistan. We are prepared to work for the examples of kind-hearted relations and mutually beneficial cooperation to multiply.

Singh and the persons accompanying him laid flowers at the monument to Lal Bahadur Shastri. People in Uzbekistan honour the momory of this Indian politician who together with Pakistani President Muhammad Ayub Khan signed, with the mediation of Soviet Prime Minster Aleksey Kosygin, the well-known Tashkent declaration on the settlement of the Kashmir conflict.

On the programme of Singh's visit is a tour of the ancient Uzbek cities of Samarkand and Bukhara, and meetings with Uzbekistan's residents.

Speaks on Mutual Interests

BK2607041290 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0240 GMT 26 Jul 90

[Text] The prime minister has called for collective efforts to meet the challenge posed by narco-terrorism, religious extremism, and ethnic chauvinism to the stability of several nations in Asia and Africa. Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh was speaking at the banquet hosted by the Uzbek president, Mr. Islam Karimov Islam at Tashkent last night. He said: Like the Soviet Union, India is a multiethnic, multilingual, and multireligious country united in its vibrant and (?many-splendid) diversity. The prime minister pointed out: We in India stand united in our commitment to democracy and secularism. Mr. Singh expressed India's readiness to work closely with the Republic of Uzbekistan, which has made admirable progress in the agricultural, economic, and social spheres.

Mr. Singh, who arrived in Tashkent last evening, said the city has a special significance for Indians as it is associated with the great son of India, Lal Bahadur Shastri. Mr. Singh will visit the ancient city of Samarkand and industrial region of Bukhara today before leaving for home.

Arab League Seeks Sanctions Against Israel

LD2407061190 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1300 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Commentary by Andrey Vasiliev]

[Text] The Arab League has adopted a resolution calling for economic sanctions against countries and organizations which encourage or assist Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union to Israel. About this, here is a commentary by an official of our radio, Andrey Vasiliev.

The resolution which was adopted at the end of the Arab League work in Tunis did not contain precise details on the mechanism of applying sanctions, nor did it mention who would, in particular, be a target for these sanctions. It is also not clear if some sanctions will be imposed on the Soviet Union itself. It would have been possible to actually expected this reaction from the Arabs toward the continuation of Jewish emigration.

During a period of a few months the Arab leaders and the PLO asked the Soviet Union to take measures which would restrict the emigration of Jews. Stormy protests became louder, especially after Yitzhaq Shamir announced his intention to resettle the former Soviet citizens in the occupied areas.

Officials in the Soviet Union firmly and quickly condemned these statements, pointing out that these actions violate the criteria of international law. But, however sensitive the nature of the situation, the fact is that the Soviet government cannot take any step which does not conform with the criteria of international law, and particularly which does not conform with the right of citizens to free movement. Here, accusations should be directed at the Israeli leader who have been making irresponsible statements and who put forward provocative projects which undermine the rights of Palestinians.

Some group regrettably tried to stop the flow of Soviet emigrants through violence. What is called the Islamic Machine for the Liberation of Palestine threatened in May to blow up planes from the Hungarian airline Malev, which has been undertaking flights from the Soviet Union to Israel. The company never buckled under the threats and, furthermore, it is now ready to introduce a new route for Soviet emigrants via Finland.

It is worth pointing out that the PLO made great efforts to hamper the opening of this route. Will the Arabs really apply somewhat stringent sanctions on countries and organizations which help the emigration of Jews? This is very unlikely. As the facts show, this is purely a publicity step and no more. When Yasir 'Arafat presented his report at the Arab League debate, he did not insist on adopting specific measures and he did not ask more than taking a stand on this question.

This reservation is understandable because the United States until now is the country which has done the most in diverting the flow of Jewish emigration to Israel itself. Ths situation developed after the U.S. government put restrictions on the number of Soviet Jews who can emigrate to it. As for the PLO, up to this day it is interested in resuming the dialogue with Washington while fully aware that only Washington can actually influence Tel Aviv with regard to the question of starting direct negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel.

One might believe that some attempts will take place to impose sanctions; for example, on the Hungarian, Finnish, and other airlines that carry Soviet Jews, but it is very unlikely the matter will go further than this. In the case in question we are dealing with a situation in which emotions are getting on top of a sound attitude toward the issue. It is doubtful such actions will help establish stability in the Middle East.

Israel Accused of Propagandizing Against Arabs

LD2407115590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Excerpts] "Israel's mass media have unleashed an extensive propaganda campaign aimed at presented a number of Arab states, in particular Iraq and Libya, as hotbeds of terrorism and militarism, which have decided to destroy Israel either by means of terrorist acts, or by means of arms of mass destruction. At the microphone is Boris Parkhomenko, journalist on international affairs."

[Parkhomenko] [passage omitted] One could ignore the noisy propaganda instigated by Israel and also attach no importance to the temporary cooling of its relations with the United States if, yes, if the press in the Arab countries had not joined in a counter campaign, just as

frenzied, whipping up fear and tension. Hands off Tripoli and Baghdad! That is the title of an editorial in the Moroccan paper AL-BAYAN. A number of Egyptian papers are openly calling for relations with Israel to be broken off, and—I quote—the frontiers to be opened, for armed support for the Palestinian uprising. Some papers are licking their lips at the thought of the terrible scenes of an Arab chemical counterattack on Israel.

Independent political observers are rightly noting that the exchange of insults and incitements could develop into military action. The situation in the Near East now recalls the last six months before the 1967 war. And I quite agree with this opinion.

Middle East Tension Threatening Detente

TA2307173790 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1500 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Commentary by Dmitriy Prokofyev]

[Text] Margaret Tutwiler, the U.S. State Department spokeswoman, announced that the invitation extended to Israeli Foreign Minister David Levi to come to Washington for negotiations proves the U.S. Administration's sincere desire to restore full understanding between the two countries. She emphasized that Secretary of State Baker intends to restore the coordination between the United States and Israel, first and foremost, within the framework of the peace process in the Middle East. This is what our commentator Dmitriy Prokofyev has to say on the subject:

The impression is that Washington has for the time being given up on the decision it almost made to wash its hands of Middle East affairs, and instead will give Israel and the Arabs the opportunity to solve their problems through direct talks.

There are apparently two reasons for this: First, the administration realizes that the conflict in the region will not be struck off the international community's agenda of its own volition. Given the cessation of East-West tensions and in view of the fact that many regional problems—South Africa, Central America, Cambodia—are gradually being settled, the Middle East might once again exacerbate the situation in the world, even to the point of turning back the wheel on the process of detente. Objectively speaking, the United States is the chief mediator between Israel and the Arabs, and my impression is that nobody else will be able to replace the Americans in this role in the foreseeable future.

The second reason: Washington believes that David Levi is a man of action who in extreme cases is prepared to make unorthodox decisions. It would seem that now is the time for Israel to make very unorthodox decisions.

The U.S. press reports that in the talks in Washington Secretary Baker intends to demand from Minister Levi an unequivocal reply to the yet-unanswered questions posed by the administration with regard to Israel's position concerning a settlement in the Middle East. These questions refer to the composition of the Palestinian delegation, the problem of East Jerusalem and, apparently, also to the general framework—perhaps in broad terms—of a final settlement of the Palestinian problem.

Given the situation, it is only logical that Washington should try not to exert any pressure on Jerusalem so as not to provoke an intransigent reaction on its part. It should be pointed out that in his meeting with Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti, who is due in Israel at the head of a delegation on behalf of the EEC, Secretary of State Baker managed to persuade his Italian counterpart to strike from the agenda the issue of special West European assistance to a settlement in the Middle East.

I do not think that one should infer from this that Washington is prepared to comply with all the demands of the current Israeli leadership. The general impression is—or, at least, this is how I see it—that the Americans want to create the conditions for negotiations with Israel in a calm atmosphere, without resorting to inflammatory propaganda.

Jerusalem will now have to decide on a clear-cut position taking all elements and possible repercussions into consideration, not just with regard to Israel's relations with the Arabs but also with regard to its relations with its chief ally, the United States.

I suppose that Israel's leadership realizes that this time it will not get away with vague positions as it did on previous occasions, and it will not be able to refuse the United States as it did prior to the latest government crisis.

Conflict Between Iraq, Kuwait Centers on Oil

NC2507110990 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The crisis in relations between Iraq and Kuwait has taken an unexpected turn for the worse. The crisis emerged last week when the Iraqi president accused Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates of violating the oil production ceiling. According to Saddam Husayn, Iraq lost billions of dollars in potential profits. The Iraqi president stated that these two countries have stabbed Iraq in the back with a poisoned dagger and promised that he would take steps if necessary, although he did not specify what these steps would be. [passage omitted]

There have been widespread violations of oil production ceilings among OPEC members in the past. However, even though this was considered in an extremely negative light, it had not led to direct threats until now. The (?extensive) diplomatic efforts that the Arab League and some Arab leaders have started in a bid to find a solution

to this crisis shows the great concern that is felt over the situation that has emerged. [passage omitted]

We wish to point out that Iraq's anti-Kuwaiti propaganda started almost (?one week) after Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati visited Kuwait, the first such visit in 11 years. During this visit, the two countries' wish to expand cooperation on the basis of good neighborly relations and mutual interests was emphasized. Kuwait, which was one of Baghdad's main (?financial) backers during the Iran-Iraq war, approached Tehran. Considering that it is still unclear—to put it mildly—where Iran-Iraq relations stand, it is possible that it was this impermissible and (?blatant) rapprochement with Iran by a former backer that may have so enraged Saddam Husayn.

Meanwhile, another characteristic of the Iraqi president is that he is (?vague) in his remarks and speeches on international issues. The last controversy erupted when he promised to set half of Israel on fire with chemical weapons. But if these remarks could (?with great difficulty) be justified by the possibility of an Israeli attack, how can one explain and justify Saddam Husayn's remarks against one of his closest allies in the Iran-Iraq war? Was it not Kuwaiti money that helped Baghdad purchase arms? If the Iraqi leader believes that he can act like this with a very close ally, then what can one say about how he will act toward other countries?

[Word indistinct] is the plague of the Near East. If the Arab-Israeli confrontation can be considered a [word indistinct] element, then how can one assess confrontation among the Arabs themselves? The confrontation among Arab countries sometimes stem from elements that can in no way be compared with their [word indistinct] life.

Who benefits from the threats and accusations about the use of force? Political [word indistinct] demands a sense of responsibility for one's actions. The entire world is [words indistinct] now and trying to rid itself of the vestiges of the cold war. In the Near East, which is suffering from endless domestic conflicts, it would be very wise to display patience and respect for [word indistinct].

Egypt To Mediate 'Crisis'

PM2507181590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Feature comprising report by correspondents B. Ivanov and V. Shevchenko: "Conflict Between Iraq and Kuwait..." followed by IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "...and Oil Prices"]

[Excerpts]

Conflict Between Iraq and Kuwait...

Kuwait—The tension that suddenly arose a week ago in relations between Baghdad and Kuwait continues to dominate political life in the Persian Gulf. The events that have taken place here in past days show that the "diplomatic offensive" launched by a number of Arab states for the purpose of settling the Iraq-Kuwait crisis is continuing to gather momentum.

Egypt came up with a wide-ranging initiative in this connection, proposing, according to the Kuwaiti news agency KUNA, a concrete plan for the normalization of the current situation. [passage omitted]

To all appearances, the plan places Egyptian President H. Mubarak among the most realistic mediators in the matter of settlement of the Iraq-Kuwait crisis. This is confirmed by the Egyptian leader's current diplomatic activity. He had talks with King Husayn of Jordan, he received Iraqi Foreign Minister T. 'Aziz, and then, on 24 July, he made a lightning trip to Baghdad and Kuwait for personal consultations with Iraqi President Saddam Husayn and Amir of Kuwait Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, a VOICE OF AMERICA correspondent reported, Iraq has moved further military contingents into the border area with Kuwait. The United States, for its part, has announced the start of joint naval and air maneuvers with the United Arab Emirates [UAE] (which Baghdad has also charged with torpedoing oil prices). Pentagon representative Pete Williams said that the decision to start maneuvers was taken "very swiftly" and stressed that Washington is prepared to "support its friends in the Persian Gulf" in order to ensure uninterrupted supplies of oil from the region.

Finally, Egypt's unexpected spurt in the matter of finding a way out of the Iraq-Kuwait impasse, in view of the marked increase in Cairo's authority in the Arab world of late, has been greeted here with satisfaction and some optimism. And although it is not entirely clear how the Egyptian plan will be perceived by all the interested parties, the local paper the KUWAIT TIMES carries on the front page Mubarak's statement that he is confident that Iraq and Kuwait will soon be able to reach a "calm and mutually acceptable" solution.

...And Oil Prices

There was a sharp increase in oil prices on world oil markets at the beginning of this week. In London, on the Brent market, the price of a barrel from fields in the North Sea reached $20. Remember that it is the first appreciable increase since the price of oil dropped significantly in April: from $20 to $14 a barrel.

The latest price surge was due to the rapid deterioration of relations between Iraq and Kuwait, which is causing concern among consumers about regular supplies of this strategic raw material. The massing of Iraqi troops on the border with Kuwait, which began on Tuesday, made the oil market even more unstable.

Foreign observers see a direct link between Iraq's hard line in the conflict with neighboring Kuwait and the OPEC meeting that opens in Geneva today. The main

item on the meeting agenda is the question of the organization's countries' strict observance of oil production quotas laid down in May 1990. The violation of these quotas was the main cause of the price slump in the first half of the year. Kuwait was one of the main culprits. It was putting nearly two million barrels of oil a day onto the market instead of the stipulated 1.5 million. This very fact, among other things, gave the Iraqi leaders grounds for accusing Kuwait and also the UAE of destabilizing the market, which hits Iraq very hard since it has an enormous foreign debt and relies on oil exports to provide for nearly all its financial needs.

The situation is made piquant by the fact that Kuwait, together with Saudi Arabia, gave Iraq the most assistance during its war with Iran. Out of an Iraqi foreign debt of more than $60 billion preferential subsidies granted by these two countries account for $30 billion.

It is not impossible that the exacerbation of the conflict with Kuwait is the Iraqi leadership's way of trying to get a more favorable oil prouction quota for its country at the upcoming OPEC meeting.

It is not clear as yet whether the oil exporters will be able, even in the situation that has arisen, to hold prices at the current level at least until October. According to Iraqi experts, the OPEC members' observance of the existing production quota (22.5 million barrels per day) will make it possible to raise the price to $25 per barrel very soon.

So the price of oil is rising at the moment. Including that of Soviet oil, incidentally.

Foreign Ministry Receives Kuwaiti Envoy

PM2507090990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.M. Belonogov has received 'A. al-Du'ayj, ambassador of the State of Kuwait to the USSR, at his request.

RSFSR Group Visits Iran To Open Relations

PM2507154990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 90 Second Edition p 8

[Report by special correspondents A. Batygin and S. Oposhnyanskiy under the rubric: "Topical": "If There's A Calamity Tomorrow..."]

[Text] Tehran-Moscow—PRAVDA has already described our country's aid to Iran, where a devastating earthquake recently struck the north of the country. RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies G. Gorelov, V. Kuzmin, and V. Linkova visited Tehran at this time. We flew with them from Domodedovo Airport to Iran's capital on board an Il-76 transporter carrying blankets, tents, and medicine for the victims....

Soviet rescue workers, medics, miners, and firefighters arrived on Iranian soil at the first alarm call. The Russian deputies' trip to Tehran served the same noble purposes: It was a question of presenting material aid from the RSFSR to help Iran in connection with the earthquake, establishing the most efficient types of such aid, and amending the steps taken.

But the parliamentarians' mission served another purpose, that of establishing direct contacts between the Russian Federation and Iran. Our deputies met Mr. Izadi, general director of the Iranian Foreign Ministry's European Department; Doctor Dastgerdi, chairman of the country's Red Crescent Society; and other leaders. During their conversation with Mr. Izadi, they touched in particular on questions of developing direct bilateral ties between the RSFSR and Iran. In addition to previously agreed border trade in the areas of Astrakhan, Volgograd, and Dagestan, there was also talk of parliamentary contacts, contacts between universities and institutions, and possibilities of cultural exchanges.

...Over the last century Iran's territory has been rocked by very powerful earthquakes on several occasions. This was the eighth in succession.

"As far as the time permitted, we studied the Iranians' experience of eliminating the aftermath of the elements," G. Gorelov said. "Work is being conducted in an organized manner, everything is being considered down to the finest details. The local Society of the Red Crescent has 27,000 personnel on its staff. We could learn from that. For instance, we could establish direct contacts with other countries' rescue workers without delay and provide material and technical backup."

In Tehran Soviet medics—emissaries of the Red Cross—S. Shulyatyev, A. Zvezdin, S. Makarov, and others told us journalists how promptly the highways in the earthquake zone had been cleared. Hardly had the quakes occurred and huge boulders obstructed the roads than mighty Komatsu bulldozers piled the blocks into an abyss. There were virtually no holdups on the road caused by obstructions.

"First aid" teams traveled in Toyotas. They were not hampered by the 40-degree heat.

"If our vehicles had been here," the medics noted sadly, "they would have overheated straightaway in these conditions...."

In short, the Soviet parliamentarians' tour highlighted many problems that deputies are to resolve in their native land. And a considerable number of these problems have accumulated of late. The ordeal of the elements and natural disasters cost us very dear, Gorelov, Kuzmin, and Linkova said with one voice. Many casualties could have been avoided in Spitak and Leninakan. The losses and shortcomings are to some extent attributable to defects in legislation. The USSR and Russian Supreme Soviets do not as yet have a committee to deal with emergency situations.

Nonetheless life puts things right in its own way. A recent RSFSR Supreme Soviet session set up a subcommittee of the Committee for Ecology to deal with emergencies. The well-known Gennadiy Vitalyevich Gorelov, a mine rescue worker of long standing, has been elected its chairman.

"What are the subcommittee's immediate tasks?" we asked him, congratulating him on his appointment.

[Gorelov] We are now gathering information to elaborate a concept as to how to organize and render rescue work in the republic effective. The RSFSR Government must have at its disposal a package of legislative acts prepared and ratified by parliament, by which it will form executive structures.

[PRAVDA] What are the main difficulties in your new activity?

[Gorelov] Possibly, breaking down departmental barriers. There are roughly 500,000 professionals in the country today whose task is to provide assistance in emergency situations. They include civil defense representatives, firefighters, and engineer troops, of whom roughly 50,000-60,000 are rescue workers. Moreover, there are at least 40,000 in Russia. I am convinced that we can halve this number, while at the same time trebling performance.

[PRAVDA] How?

[Gorelov] All rescue workers have been divided up in terms of their field: miners, power-engineering specialists, chemical industry workers, and so on. There must, of course, be specialization, but look at a map of the country area by area... Isn't it better to use the regional principle as a base? Moreover, in our view, in the new economic conditions all rescue workers must have contract relations with enterprises, whose responsibility is increasing considerably. It is criminal to economize on safety. [Gorelov ends]

The new subcommittee has enough to worry about. Acquiring experience in stages, it has to conceive a package of legislative proposals on those regional services with data banks providing information as to where the threat may come from. An independent ecological examination is also needed. Let us recall the attempts to cover up the true consequences of the Chernobyl accident.

[Gorelov] There is, certainly, a USSR Council of Ministers state commission. But however you look at it, it is of subgovernmental level. I think that a subordinate commission will hardly provide objective information.

The subcommittee still has to tackle questions of equipment for these rescue workers, insurance for them, and nontraditional sources of funding. [Gorelov ends]

"Ultimately," Vitaliy Gavrilovich Kuzmin added, "everyone must realize that it is more advantageous to pay rescue workers for in effect... loafing around. It seems different at critical moments."

This trip would have been hardly possible just a few years ago. Three young deputies without tremendous parliamentary experience, without an "overbearing escort," were able to independently investigate the difficult situation, make responsible decisions, and feel themselves to be true statesmen to whom people at the highest level pay attention.

POW's Freedom From Afghanistan Celebrated

LD2507140590 Moscow TASS in English 1351 GMT 25 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Kabul, July 25 TASS—Former serviceman Archil Kopadze was turned over to the Soviet side during an official ceremony at the Afghan Foreign Ministry today.

Kopadze was released from prison thanks to efforts by Afghan security agencies and the assistance of Mansur Nadiri, ringleader of the Ismailite sect in Afghanistan.

Afghan Deputy Foreign Minister H.M. Katawazi said at the ceremony that Kopadze was the eighth Soviet man to gain freedom as a result of coordinated actions by various Afghan agencies and the public. He stressed that efforts in this direction would be continued.

USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Sh. Amonashvili expressed deep gratitude to the Afghan leadership and President Najibullah personally for attending to this situation, which is painful for the Soviet people, and for sharing the grief of families whose sons are still held in rebel captivity.

Kopadze and his brother Guchula thanked the Afghan authorities and wished peace and prosperity to the people of Afghanistan.

Afghan Solution Requires Halt to Arms Shipments

TA2507190690 Moscow in Dari to Afghanistan 1500 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Commentary by Sergey Viktorov from "The World Today" program]

[Text] Dear listeners: At the upcoming meeting of the U.S. and Soviet foreign ministers in Irkutsk, an announcement will be made to the effect that agreement has been reached on a comprehensive solution of the Afghan problem. This has been reported by the ABC television network which cited Western diplomatic circles in Moscow. The United States and the Soviet Union will announce a halt to the delivery of arms to the belligerent sides in Afghanistan and a cease-fire between them. Radio Moscow commentator Sergey Viktorov writes on this:

Probably the first reaction to the ABC report will naturally be that many people will breathe easier now that

finally agreement has been reached between the Soviet Union and the United States on a resolution of the Afghan problem. All those interested in the establishment of peace in Afghanistan, whether within Afghanistan itself or all over the world, have been waiting impatiently for this moment. The issue is over two basic aspects of the Afghan problem, namely is a reciprocal halt to the delivery of arms and a cease-fire. Moreover, the ABC report also said that general elections in Afghanistan will be held, not in the distant future, but within six months. Furthermore, the U.S. television network claimed that the United States has abandoned its previous demand, namely the removal of Najibullah from the post of president before elections. But the main point mentioned in this television program was that all Afghan sides have given their approval to this agreement. It seems that a settlement of the Afghan problem on a just and mutually acceptable basis (?is now imminent).

At any rate, certain points should be made, while commenting on the U.S. television network's report. Of course, ABC is a reliable source, but its report is still not an official joint communique. At present, it is still too soon to say that agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the Afghan problem will take this form and not any other form. Only when the two sides announce that they have reached agreement between them, and when this agreement conforms to that reported by ABC, can one say: Yes, the road has been opened to a settlement of the Afghan problem.

But in this case, too, a successful process to the resolution of the internal Afghan problem will, most of all, depend on the two belligerent Afghan sides. A Soviet-U.S. agreement on the Afghan problem can create more favorable external conditions for the settlement process. But, at any rate, it is the Afghans who should reach agreement between themselves. No one, neither the Soviet Union nor the United States, will do this for the Afghans.

Najibullah Outlines Program to 'Restore Peace'

PM2607085990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "It Is Up to the Opposition"]

[Text] Kabul, 23 Jul—Afghanistan is now entering a delicate, important period that requires all parties to the conflict to take a realistic and responsible approach to existing problems.

President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan said this at a news conference here. The Afghan leader outlined an action program to restore peace and tranquillity in the country. This essentially boils down to transition from the "cooling of passions" period to talks between the government and those organizations, parties, and leading opposition figures who are prepared to take part in the peace process. A transitional period will be declared beginning with dialogue between the sides and ending with general elections. The key elements in this period will be the attainment of a cease-fire and the convocation of a national peace conference that will form a joint coordinating committee on which all parties to the conflict will be represented. Najibullah emphasized that the opposing sides have a right to retain control over their territories and the administration already established there. He also pointed out that the Afghan leadership is prepared to transfer to opposition representatives some of the functions of certain ministries whose activity coincides with the joint coordinating committee's aims.

He demanded that decisions be adopted by all sides represented on the joint coordinating committee on the basis of consensus as a condition for the latter's successful activity.

The head of state rejected the idea of the government's renouncing power, saying that this would only result in a "bloodbath." We are prepared, he said— and have proved this through our actions—to renounce our monopoly on power and to share it, but we are not prepared to sacrifice power in favor of anarchy and chaos.

Sub-Saharan Africa

CPSU Greets Cape Verde Congress, Reaffirms Ties

PM2607131790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee undated greetings message to the Extraordinary Congress of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde]

[Text] To the Extraordinary Congress of the PAICV [African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde]

We cordially greet the delegates to the PAICV Extraordinary Congress.

We wish you successes in mapping out ways to efficiently resolve the problems facing your country and in your activity for the good of the Cape Verdian people.

We confirm our desire to further develop friendly ties between the CPSU and the PAICV.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee.

Peace Talks Urged in Ethiopia To End War

EA2507124690 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 23 Jul 90

[From the "Africa as We See It" program; commentary by Vladimir Borisov]

[Text] Recently the mediator in the northern Ethiopian conflict, the former American President Jimmy Carter, stated that peace talks will resume between the Ethiopian Government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front

[TPLF] soon in Rome. In this connection our commentator Vladimir Borisov has filed the following commentary:

As is known, several rounds of peace talks between the central government and the Tigrayan weyanes [TPLF] in the past have failed. This happened because both parties were inclined to use military means to solve the problem.

However, the situation has changed during the past few weeks. The Ethiopian Government, which has suffered some defeats in its fight against the opposition groups in Tigray and Eritrea, last week [as heard] sent a message to the TPLF indicating that if the opposition groups stop dismantling the integrity of the country, it will be possible to reach a cease-fire agreement and establish a transitional government in which these groups take part. At the time, the TPLF leaders rejected the proposal. However, if the intended peace talks take place, the participants are expected to examine the government's proposal, which could open the way for meaningful resolution of the problem. If the meeting takes place and the proposal by the central government is raised, will the TPLF representatives view the proposal constructively?

Earlier, since the TPLF were winning several battles, they were not willing to give up their position. But now the character of the war has taken on a different dimension. Some military experts have confirmed that recently the two warring parties, the TPLF and the government, have been fortified within their respective holdings and have stopped fighting. The loss inflicted on both parties must not be underestimated. They have both been fighting long battles without sufficient food, and they are both tired.

The TPLF's military tactics do not seem to be useful in a prolonged war. What the TPLF intended was to bring about a crisis for the central government and to arouse popular opposition so as to topple the Mengistu Haile Mariam government. Actually, it is said that the TPLF had no intention of capturing the capital city of the country, says our observer Vladimir Borisov. Now the TPLF leaders have realized that the Mengistu Haile Mariam regime cannot be toppled quickly. Furthermore, in some areas, the central government has been able to persuade inhabitants to fight by its side in the war with the TPLF. This being the case, if the TPLF leaders cooperate with the Ethiopian Government in the effort to resolve the problem in the projected talks, the Eritrean secessionists will not be able to continue with their separatist activity as before.

In any case, at present the only option that can save the country from its downfall is peace talks. If the opposition parties recognize this reality, they will surely be able to find the political maturity and strength to transform themselves and follow a constructive path, concludes our commentator, Vladimir Borisov.

East Europe

Soviet Couple Seeks Asylum in Bulgaria

PM2407130590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Dispatch by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Kapralov: "Seeking Asylum in Bulgaria"]

[Text] Sofia—A young married couple from Krasnodar—German Dzhulayev and Yuliya Tanashchuk—have sought political asylum in Bulgaria. They submitted their application to the Bulgarian Great People's Assembly on Monday at 0900 hours. "People's Representatives, we announce our categorical decision to seek political asylum in Bulgaria...."

Here is what the couple wrote in the statement attached to the declaration (which was published, slightly abridged, in the newspaper SVOBODEN NAROD): "I, German Dzhulayev, and my wife Yuliya request political asylum in Bulgaria. We are young, but we have long realized that it was impossible for us to stay in the USSR any longer. The USSR's borders are still closed, and official emigration from the country is absurdly complex—it would be impossible for us, since we have no relatives abroad. The system of leaving the country at the invitation of relatives and friends is complicated by the bureaucratic machine and takes several months. Moreover, any journey can be undermined by KGB organs, which have personal files on everyone. We realized that we had long been on the list of 'unreliables' because we could not suffer everything in silence. Freedom of speech in the USSR is still strictly controlled....

"In Bulgaria we sold some of my wife's gold and exchanged the levs for dollars in order to go to Greece. The 'Rila' bureau sold us tickets to Athens in return for the dollars. Our group returned home, but we were not allowed into Kulata (a place on the border with Greece—A.K.). The 'Rila' bureau refused to refund us our money, and we have been left without any means of existence.... We request political asylum and are prepared to work. Our return to the USSR is no longer possible, since we are 'traitors to the motherland and anticommunists....'"

The couple are currently being guarded by Bulgarian student members of the Independent Human Rights Defense Society. The place where they are staying, the society's chairman R. Vodenicharov said in reply to a question from a SVOBODEN NAROD correspondent, is "being kept secret for understandable reasons."

The question of the married couple's fate will be resolved by parliament and the newly elected president.

CSFR Seeks To End Dependence on Soviets

PM2607081590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Dispatch by IZVESTIYA correspondent L. Kornilov: "M. Calfa's Position"]

[Excerpt] Prague—The TV series "Let's Get to Know the Members of the New Government" ended here Friday evening with a conversation with Czechoslovak Prime Minister M. Calfa.

M. Calfa answered a series of difficult questions. He talked in particular about what the government intends to achieve in the next two years, explaining however that there is no firm guarantee of the duration of the cabinet's activity. After all, it is accountable to, and under the control of, parliament. M. Calfa said that there is a program covering this period but that many things could change—for example, "I hope that in two years' time there will no longer be any blocs, including the Warsaw Pact bloc."

Naturally, there was a question about the panic-buying of gasoline and the reduction of Soviet oil supplies to Czechoslovakia. "The situation in the Soviet Union is indeed exceptionally complex," M. Calfa said. "But the Soviet market remains our most important one, we simply have no other. The CSFR's dependence on Soviet raw materials is a bad thing, as any form of dependence is bad. Well, Czechoslovakia is looking for other sources while at the same time it deems it necessary to maintain contacts with Soviet figures. Our economic ties need not be based on our former political and ideological ties," the Czechoslovak premier said.

J. Kanturek, general director of Czechoslovak Television, asked the following question: Talking about the USSR, where national problems are so acute, how does the government view the fact that they have assumed considerable proportions in the CSFR, too? M. Calfa answered that he would not use the expression "considerable proportions," but that he sees nothing unnatural in the fact that the problem of mutual relations is finding its way onto the agenda. The discussion is about the complexities and prospects of building a genuine federation. [passage omitted]

New Left-Wing Association Formed in Poland

PM2607091590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 90 Second Edition pp 1, 6

[TASS report under the rubric "Abroad": "Left-Wing Forces Uniting"]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Jul—A meeting of representatives of political and public organizations which identify themselves with left-wing orientation, held at the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] building in Warsaw, decided to set up a confederation of working people—a new Association of Left-Wing Forces.

Approximately 300 persons took part in the meeting, which was convened on the initiative of the working people's movement. The communique stresses that its aim was to conclude an agreement to defend working people's interests in the country's sociopolitical life. Participants advocated the need for united actions, notably during the parliamentary election campaign. The communique notes that the confederation of working people does not violate its participants' ideological and program views. Working groups have been set up to elaborate the confederation's organizational principles and promote initiatives at local level with a view to actively involving working people in the election campaign.

Addressing the gathering, OPZZ Deputy Chairman J. Spychalska pointed out that, in connection with the approaching parliamentary elections, the lack of unity among left-wing forces may result in their complete elimination from the political arena and the establishment of a new monopoly on power within the parliament. This would mark the beginning of a process which would be fatal for Polish democracy and working people, who would find themselves deprived of an opportunity to uphold their social rights and interests.

The Polish working people, the statement adopted by the meeting's participants says, are facing grave dangers. An ever-increasing number of enterprises—through no fault of their labor collectives—are threatened with bankruptcy. Agriculture is beginning to collapse. Prices for goods and services are rising constantly. The standard of living is falling systematically. Mass unemployment has become a fact. Housing construction is on the decline. The cost of housing and apartment rents are snowballing. Growing numbers of young Poles, seeing no future prospects in their homeland, are emigrating abroad, and this has become a dangerous phenomenon for Poland's future.

The document stresses that only the Association of Left-Wing Forces will be able to successfully counter the crisis, the transformation of the social economy into primitive capitalism, working people's pauperization and unemployment, the restriction of access to the benefits of culture and education, and the emergent dictatorship of right-wing forces.

Admiral Aleyseyev Greets Romanian Naval Ship

PM2607101190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jul 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by Captain Second Rank V. Pasyakin: "Mircea in Sevastopol"]

[Text] The Romanian naval training ship Mircea arrived in the hero-city of Sevastopol 22 July. Captain First Rank Dumitroche, deputy commander of the Romanian Navy, called on Rear Admiral S. Alekseyev, deputy commander of the Black Sea Fleet, and A. Shestakov, chairman of the Sevastopol City Soviet Executive Committee. Return visits were then paid on the Mircea.

The Romanian sailors have started getting to know the sights of the city. They have visited the panorama "The Defense of Sevastopol 1854-1855," the diorama "The Assault on Mount Sapun 7 May 1944," the Kherson nature reserve, and other city museums. Sevastopol

residents and visitors to the city have also been on board the Romanian training ship.

Agreement on Debts Reached With Yugoslavia

PM2407143190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jul 90 First Edition p 5

[Interview with S. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by PRAVDA correspondent Ye. Fadeyev in Belgrade on 19 July under the rubric "Goodbye to Clearing Operations!"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The official report looked like this: "Current and long-term questions concerning Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation were comprehensively discussed during the talks held in the capital of the SFRY between A. Mitrovic, deputy chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council (the government), and S. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. An accord on improving the forms and methods of this cooperation was reached in the documents signed on the results of the meeting."

So what lies behind these official lines? "The direct purpose of my visit to Belgrade was to sign an agreement on changing the settlement of non-trade payments," my interlocutor replied. "Beginning 1 August, these payments will be made in freely convertible currency. We also signed a protocol on repaying our debt to the Yugoslav side—which amounts to something in the region of $2 billion—ahead of schedule.

"I will begin with the debt. It is quite an impressive amount—it is another matter as to why we have this debt—and so one could say it is the most painful issue in our trade and economic relations. During our talks about this—I must point out that the Yugoslav side well understands the present situation—we reached agreement on the time scale and methods for repaying this debt. We have agreed on a period of four years. We will primarily pay off the debt with marketable goods needed by the Yugoslav side. It is also possible that, if we are unable to comply with these terms, we will have to pay off the remainder of the debt in hard currency. We have also proposed that the Yugoslav side consider options involving Soviet construction of a whole series of power and metallurgy facilities in the SFRY. We are prepared to assist, for example, in building a subway in Belgrade.

"The main news, however, is that we are finally getting away from account clearing relations. This does not just apply to Yugoslavia, incidentally. The USSR State Bank recently gave official notification that, beginning 1 January 1991, the Soviet Union will be abandoning the system of multilateral settlements in transfer rubles in favor of a system of settlements with CEMA member-countries in freely convertible currency. Relations with Yugoslavia will be organized on this convertability basis. We will be bidding farewell to clearing in non-trade payments as a first step.

"This is undoubtedly a step forward in our foreign economic activity, although it does, of course, conceal certain difficulties. It will help us to improve the situation with payments. In the future we are going to be much stricter with regard to balancing currency revenue and payments. Or, in language that everyone understands, we are going to try to live within our means and not try to solve our own problems by means of bank clearing operations.

"The coming together of the Soviet and Yugoslav views on a number of specific trade and economic issues," S. Sitaryan said in conclusion, "will promote the all-around development of mutually advantageous cooperation between the USSR and the SFRY."

SFRY Presidency Opposes Republic's Autonomy

PM2407142990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jul 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent Ye. Fadeyev: "Step Toward A Split?"]

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Jul—While the SFRY Presidency is telling Slovene parliamentary deputies to go back and repeal the declaration on their republic's sovereignty adopted the other day, the republic's president, Milan Kucan, has advocated the adoption of a new constitution.

The main ideas of the document are to ensure Slovenia's complete autonomy. The republic's population resolutely supported this in the course of the first multiparty parliamentary elections, M. Kucan noted. The president said that Slovenia will soon present to the other republics its proposals on the structure of a Yugoslavia united by real, primarily economic interests.

The Slovene state, M. Kucan went on, will be a parliamentary republic with a president as head of state and commander in chief of its Armed Forces.

I would point out that SFRY Presidency Chairman V. Jovic has sent the Slovene president a message. It notes that a number of decisions relating to the defense sphere do not fit into the framework of the existing SFRY constitution. The Yugoslav Presidency, the document goes on to say, expresses its resolve to protect legality throughout the territory of the country by all means at its disposal.

Yugoslav Republic's Communist Parties Merge

PM2607092790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov: "Choice of Serbia's Communists: Unified Party Created"]

[Text] Belgrade—The extraordinary 12th Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia was held in Belgrade. It did not last long: The delegates unanimously adopted a decision to unite the League of Communists

with another mass organization in this republic—the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Serbia—and form the Socialist Party of Serbia.

All the leading organs of the League of Communists, including its Central Committee, were dissolved. The 654 delegates to the Serbian Communists' last congress automatically became delegates to the new party's first congress. Just like the participants in the republic conference of the Socialist Alliance, which was being held at the same time. The unification congress delegates gathered together in the hall of Belgrade's Sava Center.

In a secret ballot with a multiple choice, the congress elected Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia Presidency, as chairman of the new party. The socialists' leading organ—the Main Committee—was elected, and the party's program and statutes were approved.

The merger of the two leading sociopolitical organizations is not a purely mechanical unification. The present situation both in the republic itself and throughout Yugoslavia is ambivalent, the processes of the renewal of society are at times acute and contradictory, and the implementation of profound reforms in society has insistently demanded the unity of left-wing forces. Serbia is the largest republic in the federation. The success of changes throughout the country and the nature of interethnic relations within the SFRY depend on how the processes of democratization develop in Serbia.

For many years the League of Communists of Serbia remained the ruling party in the republic. And until recently communists have continued to enjoy the working people's trust, as the recent elections convincingly confirmed. But the renewal of society has also demanded changes in the actions of communists. It was they who initiated the introduction of political pluralism, a multiparty system, and parliamentary democracy in the republic, and the national economy's transfer to market relations. A new Serbian constitution is being drawn up on the communists' initiative.

Under the conditions of global changes in society, the unification of left-wing forces will promote efficient renewal, the speeches at the congress emphasized. The essence of the movement is not changing, delegates said, and we continue to sense our responsibility to the people as representatives of the ruling party. The Socialist Party does not renounce the past: It has embodied all the democratic and liberation traditions of the Serbian and Yugoslav workers movement—in the period between the two world wars, at the time of the people's liberation struggle against fascism, and in the course of the revolution, in defense of the country's territorial integrity and independence, in economic, scientific, and cultural development. At the same time, it was stated at the congress, we condemn all the inhuman Stalinist bureaucratic experiments of the past, the personality cult, the curbs on democracy and civil rights and freedoms, and other errors and mistakes in our movement, for which, however, it is not ordinary party members but individual leaders who bear responsibility.

Here is the essence of the program documents adopted: The Socialist Party of Serbia, enriched by the experience of the workers movement in Yugoslavia, is capable of foreseeing the course of social development, becoming a party of democratic orientation and renewal, and having a clear-cut national, cultural, economic, and political program for surmounting the crisis. The party will struggle for democratic socialism, Serbia's unity, and a federative Yugoslavia.

The delegates voiced confidence that the majority of the working people will support the new organization's program. It was pointed out that the unification of left-wing forces is also becoming urgent because sundry opposition groupings have recently announced their presence, and many of them preach antidemocratic, anticommunist, chauvinist views.

Speakers from the congress rostrum spoke with anxiety about the fate of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia]. And they arrived at a bitter conclusion: The LCY—a unified all-Yugoslav political party—no longer exists. The league has not withstood the blows of separatists and has split. Serbia's Communists struggled to the utmost for the "vitality" of the country's communist party and defended its unity. Having split into separate republican national detachments, the LCY has in the end been left without a leadership—its Central Committee and Presidium have been dissolved.

Alas, the lessons of the demise of the LCY, the delegates pointed out, also constitute instructive experience which will always remind us where national ambitions and the desire of functionaries to climb the summits of power by any means lead.

West Europe

Italian Prime Minister Leaves Rome for Moscow

LD2507171690 Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT 25 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Drozhzhin]

[Text] Rome July 25 TASS—Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti left for a working visit to Moscow today.

He is accompanied by Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis.

Major news organisations comment that the visit is a logical continuation of the talks held during President Mikhail Gorbachev's state visit to Italy in November-December last year.

It is also stressed that it is held against the backdrop of unusually rapid political changes in Europe, when Italy is chairman of the European Communities.

Political news analysts believe that the Soviet-Italian talks will focus on a wide range of issues concerning bilateral political, trade and economic cooperation, as well as East-West relations as a whole.

Met by Shevardnadze 25 Jul

LD2507200190 Moscow TASS in English 1952 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti today arrived in Moscow.

At an airport where the Italian and Soviet national flags were hoisted, Andreotti was met by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and other officials.

The Italian prime minister is accompanied by Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis.

Opens Talks With Gorbachev

LD2607081190 Moscow TASS in English 0636 GMT 26 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev began talks with Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti here today. Andreotti arrived in Moscow on a working visit on Wednesday evening.

Soviet and Italian Foreign Ministers Eduard Shevardnadze and Gianni de Michelis are holding simultaneous talks.

Soviet diplomatic analysts note that the two sides plan to discuss the development of relations between the USSR and the European Community, German unification, disarmament and the establishment of new structures of security and cooperation in Europe.

The discussion of these issues with the Italian prime minister acquires special importance because Italy chairs EC governing bodies in the second half of 1990.

Holds Joint News Conference

LD2607125790 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 26 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, who is here on a brief working visit, held a joint news conference today after the completion of their talks.

Swedish Court Approves Extradition in Hijacking

LD2507175590 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 25 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Taras Lariokhin]

[Text] Stockholm July 25 TASS—The Swedish juridical authorities gave their consent to the extradition of Anatoliy Mikhailenko, 19, who hijacked an Aeroflot plane to Sweden late in June. Mikhailenko threatened to blow up the plane if his demands were not met.

The Swedish Supreme Court, which completed the examination of this case, concluded today that the transfer of the air pirate to the Soviet Union would not contravene national laws. Prosecutor-General Thorsten Jonsson made a similar conclusion on Tuesday. A final decision on this issue is to be made by the Swedish Government.

Ryzhkov, Swedish Agent Plan Ecology Conference

LD2607103690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 26 Jul 90

[Text] Today Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Schori, general secretary of the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has arrived in Moscow in the capacity of a special representative of Sweden's Prime Minister Carlsson. Schori conveyed an oral message from the head of the Swedish government on holding in that country an international conference on the ecological revival of the Baltic Sea.

Discuss Baltic's 'Ecological Revival'

LD2607110690 Moscow TASS in English 1059 GMT 26 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—An international conference on the Baltic's ecological revival to be held in Sweden was the key item discussed at a meeting between Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and General Secretary of the Swedish Foreign Ministry Pierre Schori in the Kremlin today.

Schori arrived in Moscow as special representative of Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson. He conveyed an oral message from Carlsson about the conference.

Ryzhkov stressed that the Soviet Government is interested in drafting and implementing efficient measures to revitalise the Baltic in the interest of all peoples living on its shores.

He said that the USSR fully supports aims put before the conference by the Swedish and Polish Government heads, sponsors of this forum.

"In our opinion," Ryzhkov said, "its success would be an impressive contribution to work on the Baltic's ecological revival, which is becoming a top priority issue among Baltic states."

FRG Chancellor's Visit Recalled 'Axis' Issue

LD2507135990 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] The new European realities give rise to fresh hope though old misgivings remain. The recent talks in Stavropol territory between President Gorbachev and Federal Chancellor Kohl have helped some people to

comprehend the future of Europe, a continent without wars and confrontation. But some Europeans have recalled the sad episodes which seemed to have receded into the past for good. Are such episodes recurring? And here are notes by our commentator Mikhail Mayorov, and this is what he writes.

Europe is losing what has been guiding its development for decades. Watersheds are being washed away that formed due to the division of the continent into blocs. The situation is viewed in the European capitals as rather complex, considering the fact that the new reality requires new approaches and more dynamic and flexible policies. Adaptation takes time, and the burden of the past still presses now and then on the minds of contemporary policymakers.

Is there a rapproachement between the USSR and Germany, with the latter about to turn into an economic giant with a population of 80 million? Does the new axis, so to speak, carry a threat to the rest of Europe? Those who take history for a guideline hasten to draw a parallel with the events of 1939—that's the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and the division of the continent into spheres of influence. Against the background of a startling decline of the old bloc's structures, a rapproachement between Moscow and Bonn is regarded by some people as a dangerous shift in the centre of gravity. A situation may develop when the sources of all European decision-making will be confined exclusively to Germany and Moscow.

The rest of Europe will be on the periphery and without a deciding vote. Can Moscow start playing the German card? The Soviet Union gave a push to the entire range of current changes in Europe hardly for the reason it wants to exercise in Europe a divide and rule policy. The Soviet leaders view it differently. The future of Europe, devastated by the fire of two world wars, lies not in division but in unity.

Well, the past lives on in all of us, but the present time is special in that it's necessary to look at the current processes in a new way. Moscow and Bonn are on the threshold of settling their relations, and this is exactly the solution of one acute problem not only for Europe but for the whole world. Beyond the cooperation between the two countries one can see an outline of a new single Europe. If Moscow and Bonn are to be given any special role, it would lie only in setting the example of how important dynamic ties are between the East and the West. It's possible that the most important result of the Gorbachev-Kohl talks is that the talks draw a line under a truly tragic past. There's to be no clash of interest, no stand-off, but good-neigborliness and partnership. And there are hardly any Europeans who wouldn't desire this.

Joint FRG Ecological Symposium on Baykal Opens

LD2507170290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] A Soviet-West German ecological symposium devoted to the problems of Baykal has opened in Irkutsk. From the Soviet side, scientists from the Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences and representatives from the USSR and RSFSR State Committees for the Protection of Nature are taking part in it. Personnel from the Ministry for Environment, Nature Conservation and Reactor Safety, managers of firms producing environment protection equipment, and journalists have come from the FRG. The purpose of the symposium is to prepare recommendations for developing additional ecological measures to preserve the Baykal region.

Cretans Demonstrate Against U.S. Base Expansion

PM2507140190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by correspondent A. Nikolayev: "Treaty Being Ratified in Athens: 'Double-Headed Ax' Over Crete"]

[Text] Crete—On Saturday the Greek Parliament will begin the procedure of ratifying the U.S.-Greek "Treaty on Cooperation in the Defense Sphere," which extends the presence of U.S. military bases in Greece by eight years.

The treaty provides for the transfer of some of the equipment and functions of military installations from continental Greece to the island of Crete. Here, as the Greek press points out, it is a question not of reducing the U.S. military presence in the East Mediterranean but, on the contrary, of creating preconditions for expanding the Pentagon's operational potential in the region.

During the short flight from Athens on board the Olympic Airways aircraft which conveyed IZVESTIYA's correspondent to the small city of Khania, located in the western part of Crete, I had time to read through a statement by 15 retired Greek generals published in the newspaper NIKI. "The concentration of bases in Crete," it emphasizes, "as well as the widening of their functions and the prospect of modernization create a situation which is particularly dangerous both for the island and for the security of the country as a whole."

Almost before I had traveled one kilometer along the road from the airport, I found with difficulty a place in a solid convoy of vehicles heading for the major U.S. naval base (said to be capable of taking the entire U.S. 6th Fleet) at Soudha. There were posters and banners on the cars: "Down with the bases of death" and "Crete does not sign the treaty."

A thousands-strong "peaceful blockade" was beginning at the checkpoint for the U.S. base at Soudha. M. Kharitakis, one of its organizers, said: "We are protesting against the signing of the new bases treaty. It does

not accord with Greece's national interests. And the present situation in Europe, where the principles of new thinking are increasingly being asserted, demands the elimination and removal of all foreign military bases, not their expansion and modernization."

"Since they appeared on Greek soil in 1953 the U.S. bases have frequently been likened to a 'sword of Damocles' held poised over Hellas," one of the demonstrators said. "Now that Crete is being turned into the Pentagon's strike bridgehead in the east Mediterranean, I would compare the Cretan bases with an ax—one of our island's ancient symbols. Why? First, the threat to neighboring states, with which we want to live in peace, is increasing from our soil. Second, who will give a guarantee that, if the Americans launch a military adventure—against Libya, say—a counterstrike will not be made against Crete?"

I asked my interlocutor his name. "Why?" he smiled in reply. "This is what many people in Crete, and in Greece too, think. It is no coincidence that the government has refused a referendum on the question of the U.S. military presence in Greece...."

It was growing dark. The rally was drawing to a close, but a stream of people continued making their way toward the base at Soudha.

UK Banker Urges Acceleration of Economic Reform

PM2607101390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jul 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent A. Lyutyy: "The City's View of Perestroyka"]

[Text] London, 20 Jul—There is a massive amount of advice from the West at the moment about how we should carry out perestroyka in the economy. Not all of it merits attention, of course. But there are people whose enormous experience, professionalism, and status give their recommendations particular weight. Britain's "top banker"—Governor of the Bank of England Robin Leigh-Pemberton—belongs in that category.

Addressing the British-Soviet Chamber of Commerce, he advised an acceleration of the pace of economic reform in the USSR. Speed in this case, R. Leigh-Pemberton believes, is just as important as scale. "It would be foolish, of course, to believe that the process can be completed overnight," he observed. "But, at the same time, it seems to me that the changes must be introduced as quickly as is practicable. When it comes to likely hiccups and incorrect allocation of resources, a gradual transition could be very costly.... It is very important that the fatigue which shows itself during a long period of transformations should not stifle the actual reform process."

Concerning the problems of combating inflation, the head of the Bank of England recommended setting a strict limit on the size of the budget deficit and ceasing to finance the economy by increasing the money supply. R. Leigh-Pemberton sees some benefit in the government organizing a securities market and in the privatization of some state enterprises.

The prominent representative of the City of London called for an acceleration of the reform in the banking sphere. "The country needs to radically restructure its banking system and to develop a network of commercially orientated banks," he said. This is extremely important in view of the fact that they will play the role of a basic market economy disciplinary lever.

Adenauer Foundation Opens Office in Moscow

PM1707081190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Jul 90 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with Dr. Josef Thesing, director of the Adenauer Foundation International Institute, by A. Lukyanov and Al. Stepanov under the "Our Interviews" rubric: "'We Will Be Able To Cooperate'"]

[Text] Dr. Josef Thesing, director of the Adenauer Foundation International Institute, answers PRAVDA correspondents' questions.

[PRAVDA] First of all, Herr Thesing, a few words about your visit to Moscow....

[Thesing] Briefly, it is to do with the opening of our foundation's bureau in Moscow. In principle the question is already settled, and the bureau will begin operating in September. I would like to use this opportunity to thank the Soviet side and, in particular, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Europe, which invited me, for the readiness for cooperation that has been shown. I know how difficult it is now to resolve many organizational questions in Moscow—premises, communications, and so forth—and thus I am grateful for the all-around assistance that has been promised to us.

[PRAVDA] Perhaps you will tell us a little about the foundation itself? After all, many PRAVDA readers will recall that not so long ago our press prefaced its name with the words "so-called" and sometimes either "reactionary" or "subversive."

[Thesing] I hope that the time of such political cliches is past, is that not so? We are a nongovernmental organization close to the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), which is in the coalition of ruling parties. The foundation has been in existence for several decades now and finances the work of seven research institutes and over 100 missions and bureaus abroad and, of course, in the FRG itself. Its main task is political education or, if you will, the teaching of democracy. Our premise is that there is no such thing as a "born democrat" so you have to learn to be one and the sooner you start the better. In other words, anyone who is interested in or who studies politics must learn what democracy is and how it is exercised in practice. That is the precondition. Of course, we act on the basis of principles and ideas close

to those who belong to the CDU. Other political parties have similar foundations, for example, there is the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, which is close to the Social Democrats.

Within the country our work is decentralized and conducted at Land level. We are carrying out more than 260 projects abroad aimed at establishing and deepening contacts with various political and social groupings; we hold seminars and scientific conferences and assist in the sphere of trade union activity and journalism.

[PRAVDA] Have the specific directions of work in our country already been mapped out?

[Thesing] Very many interesting ideas have been expressed. After the Moscow bureau has opened the discussion may switch to practical matters. I am sure that our countries' scientists and experts will be able to develop, as it were, a field of joint activity, beginning with the economy, sociology, and law, through to journalism. We want your citizens to be better acquainted with what life in the FRG is like, how its political and economic systems function, and what their merits and defects are. And of course, we hope to learn more about your country. I think that we are still not sufficiently thoroughly acquainted with your problems. That is why we want our bureau to work here. It will be, I hope, a reliable link with the help of which we will establish good cooperation between partners.

28th CPSU Congress

Central Committee Member on Congress Highlights

90UN2390B Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 29, 18 Jul 90 p 1

[Report on interview with Pavel Bunich, USSR people's deputy and member of the CPSU Central Committee, by V. Yanelis; date and place not given: "A Step to the Left"]

[Text] [Yanelis] Pavel Grigoryevich, the congress is behind us. The time has come for appraisals. In your opinion, were there some high points in the party forum?

[Bunich] The congress went through three stages. The first was listless; it did not reflect attitudes, and it brought forth a sequence of reports.

The second stage was one of discussion and a competition of ideas. On the whole, it proceeded under conservative slogans, and its apogee was the proposal to establish a commission for the preparation of a resolution on a shift to a market. The congress did not agree with this wording, and it erased the word "market." A commission was established for the development of economic reforms. It was at that time that congress arranged an ovation for Ligachev, and it decided to put Yegor Kuzmich at the head of the commission on the agrarian problem.

In the end there was a third and concluding stage when the left forces started to win. Perhaps not the leftists alone, but nonetheless this was progress and movement forward. It was at that time that Gorbachev was elected general secretary. And Ivashko, with a decisive preponderance, prevailed in the campaign for the post held by Deputy Secretary General Ligachev.

The congress finished in a way that was different from the way it started. Take at least the resolution about economic reform and the market. Note, the word "market" was revived once more. But the main features of the situation are in the summary document of the congress and its resolution "Toward a Humane and Democratic Socialism." It is here that there is mention of the introduction of labor private property, which previously provoked the anger of a good half of those present.

[Yanelis] It is difficult to dispute the fact that the congress moved to the left, but in our opinion many of the delegates left with what they arrived with; that is, "down with the market" and "down with the radicals," and, in general, down with all innovations.

[Bunich] Perhaps. Sympathies and antipathies in the election of members of the Central Committee were denoted especially harshly. More than a thousand delegates, one out of four, voted against 17 persons. And against the rest, one percent, on the average.

Although it seems to me that this 1,000 was not homogeneous, and that it included people in its makeup who voted not only against Gorbachev's policy, but apparently against his supporters from the left—Ivashko, Latsis, and Abalkin. But they also voted against the chiefs of departments of the Central Committee and ministers. How can it be explained that part of the delegates did not support Volskiy, Falin, Sitaryan, Yagodim, and Maslyukov? Those who voted against the market, is it they, in concept, who should be concerned about preserving the apparatus? So, it seems to me that there are quite a few workers, peasants, and directors in the second group. They yearn for full independence, but the apparatus is depriving them of this independence.

Unknown names did not intimidate anyone, but then well-known marketeers and well-known apparatchiks received quite a few blackballs. A typical Soviet phenomenon. The more well-known a person is, the more actively he is voted against. In the West it is the opposite. I had 1,088 antagonists.

[Yanelis] It is more or less obvious with personalities. But what about opinions, did they change, nonetheless?

[Bunich] Unequivocally, yes. According to radicalization, the congress reached a level of decisions of the supreme soviets. It overcame the anti-market hurdle, and it suppressed the temptation to support the old governmental program.

[Yanelis] But where are the guarantees that the decisions of the 28th Congress also will not remain slogans? We have heard a lot of good positive statements!

[Bunich] I do not want to believe this; this would be a most serious deception of the people. Indeed, the party has to get a move on, for the republic parliaments are urging on, pushing, and running ahead. For the time being, they do not have real programs, but there are clear goals, ideas, and dynamics.

Nevertheless, we will convince ourselves in the autumn how effectively the decisions of the congress are working: Under the pressure of the party, a new government program should appear. It will appear and begin to work.

[Yanelis] But, you see, the Russian parliament will not wait. During that time, it will move even further.

[Bunich] Splendid. Let there be new reference points, and let the process of mutual enrichment function. Russia can set an example of the democratization of the economy. I hope I will be able within my powers to take part in these transformations: The other day I received an invitation to join the Higher Economic Council under the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Briefly, in another three months, the extent of the party's ability to function will become clear.

In the meantime, we must not panic, run off in different directions, and create feeble political currents. Otherwise, the process of economic decay will accelerate. Now, it is important to exert the muscles and to preserve the

most powerful organization of the country, and to turn its constructive energy to the task.

[Yanelis] But the drain of personnel from the party is inevitable. It has already begun. Many are tired of putting everything off until tomorrow. And, finally, there remains the same apparatus of 1,000 delegates that will return home and prevent and impede radical changes. What should be done about this?

[Bunich] Change party leaders on the spot. Reelect. Otherwise, we will pay dearly for our passivity. But it is a tragedy that they are leaving the party. But we must not aggravate it.

Burlatskiy, Shmelev Assess Outcome of Congress

90UN2392A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 29, 18 Jul 90 pp 1, 3

[Dialogue between Fedor Burlatskiy and Nikolay Shmelev: "What Next? Advice to the Presidential Council"]

[Text] [Burlatskiy] So, the congress, which was awaited very anxiously and, let us put it bluntly, with much apprehension, has come to an end. It is premature to sum up the results now; they will become clearer as reforms are introduced. However, this begs two or three conclusions.

The victory of a policy geared to democratic centralism and its leader M.S. Gorbachev was indisputable and impressive, as was the defeat of the frank spokesmen for the conservative concept.

The general secretary showed himself to be a genuine, accomplished party fighter. To be sure, victory was won at a heavy price. The best representatives of the party intelligentsia, such as E.A. Shevardnadze and A.N. Yakovlev, left the Politburo, and the latter even the composition of the CPSU Central Committee. Concerning the attitude toward the representatives of science, art, and literature, only concentrated pressure rescued them from an attack by "the black hundreds," the clear opponents of reconstructing our system. Through whose efforts are these people going to accomplish the scientific-technical revolution? Where will they get specialists—from Japan and America? Or will they themselves begin to design modern computers, aircraft, and make movies?... We have yet to ponder what the departure of B.N. Yeltsin and other representatives of the Democratic Platform from the party means. Time will tell whether this means the reinforcement of the center at the expense of extreme currents or just the triumph of realism. At any rate, I believe that self-determination within one party does not rule out coalitions of various parties within soviets, executive organs of power, and public organizations. By now, ministers who are not party members have appeared; why would permanent or temporary multiparty alliances be impossible? It is time to give up totalitarian intolerance and rigors.

The issue of a communist perspective was left without a complete explanation, which is significant for appraising the current platform of the CPSU. Of course, nobody had in mind a return to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the practice of "war communism," and coercive socialization, to say nothing of the massacres of 1937. There is no road to Stalin or for that matter to Brezhnev. On the contrary, the congress has reinforced the achievements of the theoretical thought of recent years: transition to a multiparty parliamentary system, a new union of sovereign states on the basis of a treaty between them, and transition to a regulated market.

It is useful to look around and compare our experience with the events in Eastern Europe and China in order to better grasp the meaning of what happened at the 28th congress. In Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the GDR democratization has brought about the communists' loss of their role in the state. In China, democratization was sacrificed in order to save the power of the party. As has always been the case, we took our own path, attempting to preserve the party as a vanguard force together with its policy of democratization and glasnost. Still, the party is now looking for a role not as an organ of power but as a political institution proper in democracies of the late 20th century, overcoming step by step the provincial notion that one hundred parliamentary republics in our world are out of step, and only the Soviet state is in step. Through struggle and conflicts, through arguments and quests we are gradually returning to the road of world civilization.

Ultimately giving up state power is the main point which the congress signified. For 72 years the CPSU acted as an organ of power, using the soviets and the government as obedient enforcers of its decisions and actually bearing no responsibility for the results. The principle of popular sovereignty is now being restored. Only those who have been given a mandate by the people obtain the right to lead in the interests of the people. The CPSU will fight to preserve its influence in society without using the levers of power and coercive methods to this end.

The community period of democracy with congresses, conferences, meetings, and endless discussions seems to be yielding to a period of adopting businesslike decisions and implementing them in a businesslike manner. At present, nothing is more important than constructive suggestions in both economics and politics. This is what I would like to note prior to our discussion, Nikolay Petrovich.

[Shmelev] We have almost a national accord—let us put it this way—on the very long-term outlook: We should become a civilized country, a normal society. However, this is a goal for many decades... The problem is whether we will be able to come upon this road without a catastrophe in the meantime, without blood, chaos, turmoil, and millions of broken lives. This is the main point. In this matter I am most concerned about and fear what may happen in the next several years, as I think you are. I will touch first on political life.

What will be the outcome of the process of the delineation of powers between the soviets, the representation of the people, on the one hand, and the party, which is abandoning direct interference in all aspects of our life, on the other? Personally, I would be happy if the president—meaning that he personifies the forces of renewal and enjoys tremendous support from those who are in favor of renewal—would distance himself from the CPSU. He needs a free hand as the main representative of the people, the main figure in the renewal processes. Now that he has been elected general secretary it is very important to prevent the apparatus from turning him into a hostage of the conservative forces. This would slow down rather than facilitate perestroyka.

[Burlatskiy] I would like to note that I am now distressed in a certain sense, though I was one of the most active proponents of creating the institution of the presidency. To be sure, just several months have passed since this institution was formed, and it is too early to make demands on it. Still, we cannot fail to say that the task which was associated with creating it has not been accomplished yet. My greatest fear is that this institution as well will drown in community democracy, which is sweeping the country.

[Shmelev] Businesslike and working politization is unavoidable, but a rational line needs to be pursued in the course of it.

[Burlatskiy] Yes, of course. Here is my first advice: **to turn the Presidential Council into precisely an organ of executive power.** It will need to head the processes of the formation of a new Union, and prevent its disintegration and confusion caused by the decisions of the republics and the center running counter to each other.

Several months ago we held a discussion within the framework of the club of USSR people's deputies on the topic: "The fate of the USSR: A Federation? A Confederation? A Commonwealth?" Diametrically opposed opinions were voiced at the conference. However, at the time nobody thought that life would give its own answers to these questions so quickly. During this period of time, we have gained the experience of the assertion of sovereignty within the framework of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], the Ukraine, and all other republics. The creation of the RSFSR Communist Party created a wave of emotions which has not receded yet. The unprecedented structure of the CPSU Central Committee and the Politburo on the principle of republic and regional representation has also faced us with puzzling issues. By all signs, we are proceeding toward a treaty, toward a new Union, and at this point nobody can predict whether this will be a confederation or some previously unknown association. One thing particularly bothers me. A new round of politization is beginning. Great redistribution of power and property is coming. This round could drag out for several more years, filled with debate, conflicts, trials and errors. Dividing it up is not like building it. While discussions go on the amount of bread and meat does not increase; quite the opposite, there is less energy.

We should convene before the end of this year something in the nature of a Congress of Soviets in order to adopt a treaty, without losing sight of the central task. A simple transfer of property, and even municipal power, to the Union and autonomous republics does not solve the problem. At their session the RSFSR people's deputies circumscribed the scope of jurisdiction of the Union and the republic and made a determination regarding the ministries: which are to stay there, which are to be here. However, the command-bureaucratic system may just as well be transferred to the level of republics. The experience of Yugoslavia should be a stern warning to us. The Moscow bureaucracy, all of its shortcomings notwithstanding, did gradually become competent, whereas local bureaucracies are much less prepared.

[Shmelev] This is a tremendous danger. Even in the Baltic area, which we are in sympathy with, some monstrous degree of incompetence in the decisions which are made can be found, including long-term decisions, without taking into account fundamental factors, primarily economic factors. I am also afraid that we are facing at least two to three years of scandals and squabbling regarding national powers and the jurisdiction of republics... This may be a simplistic approach, but I think that if your tooth aches, if it is clear that there is no hope, the sooner you extract it the better. This is the only way to get rid of continuous pain. What do I mean? The new Union Treaty should be worked out with a maximum of speed and assertiveness. The best way to extract the sick tooth as fast as possible would be to arrive at a new treaty—I do not know whether it is to be a federation or a confederation—before the end of this year or early next year, due to intensive work (work through the nights!).

[Burlatskiy] The issue of national sovereignty does not have bounds. Look at the Russian Congress of People's Deputies which everyone is in sympathy with (it was sharply different from the RSFSR Communist Party Congress). It tied the issue of sovereignty to the division of national wealth and opened the gates to a road on which no end is in sight.

Strife may begin tomorrow in the autonomous republics within the RSFSR. Tataria will say give us our oil; Yakutia, give us our diamonds; and someone else, give us our gold... Please note that a notion was set forth which has a lot of appeal to the Russian people: the people of Russia [rossiyanye]. However, would other nations living in the RSFSR call themselves the people of Russia rather than the Bashkir, the Mordva, and the Yakut? I do not know. What should be done in, say, Georgia: To call everyone the people of Georgia [gruziyanye], but will the Abkhaz want this?

The principles of the state's withdrawal should be set forth clearly in laws or presidential decrees.

[Shmelev] I do not want to offend anybody, but the ways of some new political entities are harsh and authoritarian, worse than those of the Bolsheviks. In general, Fedor Mikhaylovich, "The Devils" is a book for all times; the devils will be around for as long as political life exists.

[Burlatskiy] A new element has to be introduced in the Union treaty and in general in this entire movement, the establishment of a union of states. We should redistribute property on a basis different from a bureaucratic one; it should be transferred to specific people and collectives rather than just to Union or autonomous republics. In this case, the property of citizens and enterprises will emerge instead of bureaucratic structures. Hence my second recommendation: **Man, a real producer, or in other words, a labor collective, a family, the owner of a farm or a small enterprise, should be the focal point of the great redistribution of national wealth.** The interrepublic treaty is called upon to divide two problems: Political sovereignty belongs to the people, and property belongs to man.

[Shmelev] This is absolutely indisputable as the central, so to say, philosophical idea.

[Burlatskiy] In this case, everything will be in its proper place. Kolkhozes [collective farms] will turn into real cooperatives, and state enterprises will become joint-stock enterprises. Private property will be established or, if they are so much afraid of this word, individual property.

[Shmelev] I call it **private.**

[Burlatskiy] I do too. Everything that he earns is guaranteed to an individual, and he may not only use it but also multiply it, and become an entrepreneur.

[Shmelev] I will stress once again that this is the point of departure. This brings us closer to the set of nationality problems, another aspect which may be the most important. I am profoundly convinced that an attempt to crawl into our own corners is expressed through the monstrous exacerbation of nationality problems, and that this is a result of the absence of a unified market in the country. Our movement toward things new is very slow. Many impatient republic leaders, perhaps even with noble motives, think this way: This ship is doomed anyway, it will sink anyway, no reforms are possible in the Soviet Union, so let us climb from the hole we are in ourselves. This brings us to the third avenue of our discourse. I am sure that at present the economy is issue number one for us, and that political turmoil and nationality explosions are the consequences of our economic condition, because the economy determines the mood of the entire people. The people cannot remain indifferent in the face of the economy falling apart and their lives deteriorating.

[Burlatskiy] It is just that the threat of a famine will appear.

[Shmelev] In this sphere, the credit of trust which the perestroyka leadership and the government have has been exhausted. I am convinced the remnants of this credit will last for a year at the most. The end will come, and there will be no trust at all unless we overcome the crisis and even the smallest signs of moving upward, hopeful signs, appear. I believe that the threat of spontaneous disturbances, strikes, and chaos will mount. I must support the attempt the government has made by giving up its ultraconservative program of reforms, despite the Second Congress of People's Deputies voting in favor of it, and proposing a new reform to the Supreme Soviet. I would like to stress that the reform was referred there to be revised rather than for additional work. This is very important. Please, do not do a snow job on the people—it was exactly to be revised! There is a lot in the government program that is reasonable and expedient, and I must admit with sad satisfaction that ours is not a hopeless government, it does learn. As little as one and a half years ago the Supreme Soviet put its stamp on the most ridiculous budget in the 70 years of our history; many of those who prepared it are still in power. However, in the course of one and a half years signs have appeared that the government is beginning to think in terms of economic notions as well, and not just in administrative and engineering categories.

[Burlatskiy] I have what may be a somewhat tactless question: Is this associated with the arrival of new people, such as Abalkin?

[Shmelev] I believe that this is rather the influence of the situation which beats you over the head with a club and makes you change. However, the arrival of professionals was, of course, an influence. I respect Abalkin. To be sure, I think that he is a tragic figure: He is forced to play according to the rules which have emerged in this team, and he has already been broken. However, his influence is also felt. At any rate, the government has drawn closer to the notions which are the essence of the economy.

At present, I see several vulnerable segments in his program which I think call for immediate and radically new approaches. First: The government still sits between two chairs, one being that of ideology and the other that of common sense and economic needs. The suppression of the creative forces of our people is still preserved in the program for the appeasement of ideology. The program was written by people who do not like this whole reform scheme. They are doing this under the whip. However, this is not what I am talking about; I am talking about the approach itself. Let us not discuss for a long time the issue of private property. This is an artificial problem as I see it, especially at present, toward the end of the 20th century.

Throughout the world a compromise between social and private property has actually been achieved. Joint-stock property is not private property at all. For example, in the United States 11 million people work at absolutely socialist enterprises which have no master. They are managed by the collective. This is the property of

workers. By now, we have run into the fact that the so-called classical private sector which has hired labor provides an outlet for the most creative people. We no longer argue about family businesses. Everyone is of the same mind whether it is a farm, a shop, or a repair business. **However, we need to take one more step and agree to regulated private property in the classical sense.** Go ahead—I invented a bulb; yes, I need 50 assistants, so I hire them, and that is it. Let us say you can have up to 100 employees, but beyond this there should be mandatory joint-stock ownership. This is going to be a small sector in the economy, but the most vital and energetic one which will begin to stir up our economy and will make the giants more flexible.

[Burlatskiy] Let us translate this thought into a practical decision. For example, you are to prepare the draft of, say, a presidential decree. How would you word your task?

[Shmelev] In addition to the existing four forms of property—**classical state property, joint-stock enterprises, cooperatives, and family businesses—a fifth is to exist: a private enterprise with the ceiling of hired labor being 100 people.**

[Burlatskiy] Proceeding from the Law on Property?

[Shmelev] It needs to be changed. This nonsensical point about exploitation which the government imposed...

[Burlatskiy] It was added at the last moment, out of fear.

[Shmelev] I know that you were against it. Those who insisted on it wanted to please some shadows of the past. However, there is also a purely practical, down-to-earth argument to the contrary. If we opt for the road to a market (and apparently all of us have agreed that there is no other alternative to the market except for camps), we should reckon with the fact that we already have 5 or 6 million unemployed, and that we need to place in jobs a tremendous segment of our parasitic bureaucratic apparatus. To be sure, it will not entirely disappear, but a significant segment of it will have to go. The most frightening thing is that, as any professional can tell you, approximately 25 percent of the work force is superfluous, even if current technological standards are maintained! Within several years the market will release one person in four as superfluous. This means 30 to 40 million potentially unemployed. They need to be given employment. Under the circumstances, we cannot neglect any opportunity. Someone opens his own newsstand, or a shop, or a repair facility—nothing should be rejected that may alleviate this monstrous social problem which is fraught with an explosion. If the people are going to be employed, say, at the enterprise of Ivan Ivanovich, they will not go and riot in the streets. This is an argument of the most cynical expediency, of naked expediency, rather than any kind of ideology.

[Burlatskiy] I would like to discuss bureaucracy in conjunction with the threat of unemployment. To be sure, the state bureaucracy of officials should exist in our country, but it should be reduced to a minimum, as is the case in all civilized countries. Administrators, managers, businessmen should take the place of economic bureaucracy. It is impossible to accomplish anything by mere shouting: Let us all sit down and have the whole community, as was the case in rural areas at one time, decide how to develop enterprises and advance joint-stock companies. It is absolutely absurd to hope to get something going in the absence of a modern managerial culture.

If we look at the United States of America, Japan, or the FRG, the number of managers there is tremendous.

[Shmelev] Yet we hold the record.

[Burlatskiy] We hold the record in terms of state bureaucrats.

[Shmelev] Fedor Mikhaylovich, I will give you statistics as examples. There are at least 3.5 million professional office holders in our rural areas. In America, there are only 2 million farmers, whereas in our country there are 1.5 times more professional supervisors alone.

I would like to go back to the government program. Its second vulnerable point—the state still took the customary path of fleecing the populace as much as possible. Whatever they may say, the essence of this reform as of now is to rob the people of 65 to 70 million rubles.

[Burlatskiy] Patching the holes in this manner has got nothing to do with facilitating the market.

[Shmelev] Nonetheless, price reform is unavoidable. We must correct what has been mangled. Try to imagine a yoke on the shoulder of a man, one end of which is too low, while the other is too high. It should be made level. Since 1929, energy, food, transportation prices, and rents in our country have been kept monstrously low and have been subsidized by the state. Prices for everything technical, from an iron to a car, have been set at monstrously high levels; they yield to the state the so-called turnover tax. In principle, the sum of state subsides is almost equal to the revenue brought in by this tax. **As our first step, we should make the yoke level, cancel both the subsidies and the turnover tax,** smash the warped mirrors in the economy and replace them with normal mirrors in order to understand what is really what and how much it is worth.

[Burlatskiy] What next?

[Shmelev] The next step is to leave all prices to the market, demand, and supply—not the 15 percent the government insists on at present, but 85 to 90 percent of the prices should be left to the market. Control bread, milk, vegetable oil, well, some other things too. You may say: The line for TV sets will get three times as long. Indeed, but in this instance temporary augmentation is required. Say, unload on the market TV sets and other things purchased somewhere in Japan until the market settles down—and the yoke will level itself. I repeat that

the current approach of the government is fiscal, with a view to fleecing the populace. It may undermine all support by the people.

There is also another tangle of problems. The desire to have them fleeced is also seen in the unwise tax policy. The government is saying: We will give compensation to all who are weak and helpless, and we will give all others an opportunity to make money. The government will not give them this opportunity!

[Burlatskiy] Taxes on employees, as well as on enterprises, in the area of culture and science are the most dramatic manifestations of the fiscal approach. In this instance we came to see some kind of an explosion of the hatred of the Sharikovs for intellect. The references of cunning financiers to Western experience amount to openly juggling the facts. Indeed, major honoraria in the West are taxed at high rates, up to 60 percent. However, per printing sheet a writer gets 10 to 20 times more than here, and movie stars or football players—100 to 200 times more. Besides, in the West the principle of payments based on the profits received applies: for every copy of a book or a record, for every rerun of TV program.... One gets the impression that someone consciously put a brake on our partaking of the technological revolution. Or are they trying like Plato to throw the poets and musicians out of the regulated-market socialist paradise? Let me raise this issue sharply. Stalin had representatives of the intelligentsia imprisoned and shot, but he paid well those who remained free; otherwise, we would not have had good aircraft, tanks, and guns during the war, or outstanding literature and music. Khrushchev cursed the intelligentsia; however, under him honoraria were increased in line with the growth of prices. So, who is cheating Gorbachev so that laws strangulating culture are passed? The president is exactly the one who needs to correct it urgently.

[Shmelev] They are not just now cheating the president; they have already cheated him—adopted and imposed on the USSR Supreme Soviet the Law on Taxes which will not give anybody an opportunity to make money and will prompt people to steal. Very soon, the scale of both prices and salaries will change; 1,500 rubles, which are surprising at present, will become the norm, and here it is: Let us clip it by means of a state tax. In this manner, we are establishing the most monstrous tax on incomes of any country.

[Burlatskiy] Associating price increases with a transition to the market means to wittingly or unwittingly compromise the very idea of this transition.

[Shmelev] I think it is rather done unwittingly. This is testimony to the incompetence and, perhaps, the profound contempt of our bureaucracy for the crowds. Conservative elements are genetically incapable of understanding that crowds may be the ultimate, the main argument.

Now I am coming to the third point of my reservations concerning the program. The approach of the government continues to be as follows: We will produce more irons, more pantyhose, and all problems will be taken care of. The approach of professional economists is different: The main point is that the market is in disarray; the ruble is not working, neither the enterprises nor the people need the ruble. Meanwhile, a market system and the laws which they have managed to adopt will only work if they are based on the working ruble, which is in short supply, and which the enterprises and the people need. In other words, supply should be at least a little bit higher than demand, so that there are more goods than there is money. This is the initial premise for any progress. **This is why a financial reform is the first condition.**

What is to be done with a monstrous mountain of hollow money not backed up by goods? It needs to be eliminated. There are two ways to do it. Either this money is expropriated, or wisely drawn away from the market. Expropriate it? Who from? It is nonsensical to count on millionaires. I would not like to touch on the sentimental, psychological aspect of this affair; I am talking about the strictly business aspect. These millionaires are more intelligent than any chairman of the Council of Ministers; the bulk of their money is invested in their businesses, and it is impossible to confiscate it from there. What can be confiscated from their bank accounts and out of their mattresses yields little, so little that this money will be enough to plug up the hole in the state budget for a week, but there is going to be a lot of noise! Besides, if we use the "confiscation" method, then we should go to all of them, to a man, take it from all. What about psychological consequences? Social consequences? This means undermining confidence forever. It means that this money needs to be somehow drawn off the market. The money consists of two segments; one of them is savings (you are saving up for a car or building a country cottage); the other segment is hot money (you wait for irons to appear at a store). You spend this money as soon as an iron is for sale in a shop. There are roughly 300 to 350 billion overall in the savings of enterprises and people, and about 200 billion is hot money. Savings may be tied up in various ways. I fail to understand how long the government is going to drag its feet; this has already been written into the program: Sell everything that will sell—apartments (and I insist on land too), equipment from state stocks, shares. Finally, a temporary moratorium may be agreed to, it may be announced: Comrades, for one and a half to two years we cannot make withdrawals from your accounts greater than a certain sum; however, your money is not going to perish, we will pay eight percent annual interest on it.

[Burlatskiy] I am happy that you support the idea of a temporary freeze on deposits in the savings banks—at, for example, 1,000 or 2,000 rubles a year on top of wages. I have proposed this idea many times proceeding from the experience of countries such as the Netherlands

and the FRG, which faced similar problems immediately after the war. The social aspect of the financial reform cannot be ignored.

Here is one more point. We say—the market. However, there are different markets—civilized European markets (a conventional name!) and Asian (in the sense of "Asian backwardness") built on swindling, short shrifting, thievery, and robbery. The manner of making a transition to a civilized market is an important issue; it is also associated with resolving the issue of the shadow economy.

[Shmelev] In this instance, it appears to me that properly resolving the issue of hot money is the main point. This is still under discussion, but almost all professional economists have come to support me. **It is easier to siphon the hot money away, to repurchase it (there is such a term) by one-time massive imports of consumer goods lasting one to two years.** This is not expensive; at the coefficients now in effect the state may easily obtain 10 internal rubles, and even 40, per dollar. Therefore, all of our sorrows, all of our lines, tears, yelling, and dissatisfaction are worth not more than $20 billion at world-market prices.

The question is: Where are we to get these 20 billion? The government says: There is no money. However, at the same time it takes the most pitiful position on any attempt to secure money. They were the ones to create the ANT [Automation, Science, and Technology]; some demagogue made noise, and they began to publicly apologize: Pardon us, we did not do the right thing. We need more than just one such ANT which sold all kinds of stuff we did not need, including tanks, secondary raw materials, metal dumps worth a billion. We could have imported 30 billion-worth of consumer goods. About 15 ANT's would have taken care of the problem... Meanwhile, we continue to step up the import of bread, of equipment for our heavy industry which sits idle for decades, we continue to finance Cuba and everything else. We cannot afford this.

Aid from our Western partners is another possible way. Can this be direct aid of the same kind as the Marshall Plan? I believe that this calls for Gorbachev's prestige. Such aid may only be provided on account of a Gorbachev program.

[Burlatskiy] You and I have talked to all kinds of people abroad, and we know that a year ago all of this was absolutely realistic. Later came a decline, but now, after the congress, when the position of Gorbachev and all reformers has been strengthened, tremendous new prospects are opening in this sphere. I will refer to a decision made in Houston by a session of seven countries which specifically discussed the issue of cooperating with us and aiding our perestroyka. All we need to do is not to turn our nose up at it and throw bureaucratic obstacles in this path.

[Shmelev] Finally, we can take a different route: To borrow money against collateral. We will no longer be given just like that, on our recognizance, for a promise to pay interest. This, however, is an important political operation, and the prestige of the president is also needed for this. We owe the West no more than $34 to $35 billion, this is our net debt. Between $140 and $150 billion is owed to us. Therefore, our debts can be mortgaged by means of a major political action. For the most part, they are hopeless. They may be sold at 15 to 20 percent of their value. This is how it is done in the world.

As little as three to four years ago we could have pulled out of the critical situation by our own efforts. I am afraid that we will not climb out of it now without a shot in the arm, which will do what an urgent injection does for a gravely ill person.

[Burlatskiy] The fact that all new centers of current economic might also started by doing exactly this speaks in favor of your position. In the absence of this, nobody would have been able to get on his feet, be it South Korea, Argentina, Brazil, or Spain.

[Shmelev] Of course, in principle now is the time to stop sitting behind a fence; the entire world has opened its doors to foreign capital. The entire world represents communicating vessels; nobody has the xenophobic complex and hatred for things foreign which we do. So what if Chase Manhattan leases an area of three hectares in Moscow for 99 years to build a skyscraper for itself? What will happen? This is normal life. Fences are coming down the world over, but we are the only ones afraid of being "conquered." Who can conquer this bulky thing? From the standpoint of economics, who can buy it? Who would want to assume this burden?

[Burlatskiy] Here is one more issue: Where do we begin? You know, when the epoch of reforms came I had the idea that we needed to start with the agrarian problem. I went to China for this purpose. Previously, still under Brezhnev, I followed very closely the beginning of reforms over there. In 1988 I brought back a film on new economic regions, on agrarian relations in the PRC, had it shown on TV, and wrote a number of articles. The Chinese have secured tremendous results by means of a simple change in relations in agriculture, that is, by means of the leasing arrangement. I am not saying that this is the only solution; however, the fact that they began with an agrarian reform made it possible for them to later switch to solving problems in the sphere of industry.

The issue of foodstuffs is particularly acute for us; this means the threat of living in hunger for millions of people. I believe that one of the first decisions of the Presidential Council should be associated with this very sector. If we want to make a choice, new forms ought to be supported economically. **If you believe in the family farm (it has won all over the world) you should provide loans, give technical aid, and put them in touch with foreign farms which may help with training, technology, and the provision of credit.**

[Shmelev] To mention just one thing, merely offer police protection to this farm against arson.

[Burlatskiy] It seems to me that **a presidential decree on the repeat registration of all lands should now be issued with a view to redistributing these lands.** To begin with we could assist in the transformation of kolkhozes into cooperatives of a Western or, at least, Czechoslovak type. In Czechoslovakia and Hungary there have never been kolkhozes; there are cooperatives, though not quite like those in the West. Another point: Preferences should be given to farming operations. Economic cooperation and joint projects are possible in this sphere. I helped one such project with the Dutch. By now, the first farms in the vicinity of Moscow have been built, and we plan to have 10,000 family farms in the vicinity of the capital city which will provide potatoes and vegetables for Muscovites, and in the future will also produce milk and meat.

Many delegates said at the 28th congress: Kolkhozes and sovkhozes [state farms] are necessary; all you have to do is give them modern equipment. Some say: They should be given the hard currency we spend on purchasing grain abroad, and they will work well. Personally, I do not believe this, proceeding, once again, from the experience of the world.

[Shmelev] I believe that a decree on the repeat registration of land is a very practical measure, all the more so because a land register has already been created in our country; generally, a quite speedy appraisal of land is possible. I do not at all want to set the kolkhoz sector against the emerging farmers. However, my opinion is that our outstanding kolkhoz chairmen nonetheless play the role of new landowners and local administrators by protecting the serfdom economy. However, it is not ideological approaches that are important but practical ones: Of course, some of the collective farms have proven their vitality even under absolutely unfavorable, inhumane conditions—alas, only a segment of them belonging to Starodubtsev and another 30 percent of our kolkhozes and sovkhozes. We should not touch those that are profitable; let them live, time will tell. However, the segment which is hopeless will not be saved by any infusion of equipment or whatever else. They should be disbanded or transformed into anything at all, as they themselves see fit.

[Burlatskiy] They say that the peasants themselves do not want to become farmers. However, it is enough for five to ten percent of the peasants to turn into good farmers in order to feed the country in the long term. Is this not so?

[Shmelev] Even if one family in 10 takes the land, this will guarantee the current level of production (experience shows that in the Non-Chernozem Zone and other impoverished regions, the productivity of one farm family is equal to that of nine to 10 kolkhoz families). We should make the law work, and use force to this end if necessary. I would still add a constitutional right for all to quit and take a land parcel; if you want to quit you quit, and nobody has a right to interfere with you. I would add to this the cancellation of all state deliveries (there is still a certain risk involved at present, but we have to take this risk).

[Burlatskiy] Just going directly to the market?

[Shmelev] Pay the tax, and go ahead. Who are they going to sell to? They do not have anywhere to take their produce in earnest anyway; for now, the state has a monopoly. Some of it will be delivered to the market, but the bulk will go to the granaries of the state. At the very least this will give everyone a feeling of freedom. If all of this is reinforced by the accelerated saturation of the market with construction materials and equipment—everything that the peasants cannot spend their money for at present—once again, through emergency imports, this would be even more proper.

[Burlatskiy] In your opinion, if we were to sum up our conversation, what decisions could be made right now, today?

[Shmelev] The first one would be to reinforce decision-making institutions.

[Burlatskiy] The president, the parliament, the government.

[Shmelev] So that they would be really effective institutions, a premise for everything.

[Burlatskiy] What about the economy?

[Shmelev] Either an alternative or a radically revised government program; it is not important who it is going to be submitted by. Actually, it would be better for it to be submitted by the president rather than the government. However, the program of a radical economic reform should be adopted this fall.

Political and Social

Internal Troops Outline Plans To Enforce Decree

LD2607150290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1355 GMT 26 Jul 90

[Text] It is 1755 Moscow time, and you are listening to Mayak's afternoon panorama. You know, esteemed comrades, that the USSR president's decree banning the establishment of armed formations not envisaged by USSR legislation and ordering the confiscation of weapons in the event of their illegal storage was published in the press today. Responsible tasks have been entrusted to the internal troops of the USSR Interior Ministry.

Colonel General Shatalin, commander of the internal troops, talks about this at the request of a TASS correspondent. We hope, he says, for active assistance from the people's deputies of the country and union republics, representatives of public organizations, elders, the

clergy, and the intelligentsia. They must call more insistently for a peaceful resolution of the problems which have accumulated, and for good sense and responsibility from those in whose hands arms have been seized by illegal means.

For the internal troops this is not a case where we have to throw ourselves into battle at breakneck speed. We would simply not be understood by the people, and especially not by our soldiers' mothers, who are anxious about their sons' fate. That is why we are prepared to do everything to avoid bloodshed. That is why we are hoping for good sense and a sober evaluation of the situation, principally on the part of the leaders of the armed formations.

No small importance is attached to preventive work, which will be performed by local authorities and law-enforcement bodies, to ascertain the location of deployment of the armed formations. It is planned to send their leaders specific demands for their disbandment and the handover of their arms within 15 days. In the event of their refusal—and such a scenario is possible, Col. Gen. Shatalin stresses—the internal forces have sufficient forces and resources to perform resolute and active operations together with sub-units of the Soviet Army to disarm the illegal formations, as envisaged by the decree. Trained personnel, equipped with the necessary combat hardware and weapons, will be used for this. But Col. Gen. Shatalin stresses that the way of confrontations and clashes is not our way, and those who are in the ranks of the armed formations must be well (?aware) of that. Responsibility for bloodshed will be laid fully and completely on them.

Army Role in Enforcing Armed Group Ban Defined

LD2607144290 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 26 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—Soviet Army units will play only a limited role in implementing the presidential ban on unconstitutional armed groups, which is primarily the responsibility of the Interior Ministry, a senior Soviet Army officer told TASS.

Colonel General Bronislav Omelichev, first deputy chief of the general staff, was commenting on Mikhail Gorbachev's decree of July 25 to prohibit armed units that are not envisaged by Soviet legislation and order the confiscation of illegally kept weapons.

"Defence Ministry units will perform only auxiliary functions and then only in exceptional cases," he said.

General Omelichev said that in keeping with Article 73 and the law delimiting powers between the centre and republics, armed formation may be raised only by the centre, namely the higher bodies of state power and administration. Actions by other organisations to create armed groups are illegal, regardless of their purpose.

General Omelichev said that arms, ammunition, explosives, equipment and other military hardware taken away from illegal armed groups will be turned over to army units.

"In each region of the country, we have a number of arsenals and warehouses for the dependable safe-keeping of the confiscated arms," he said.

General Omelichev said that "individual units can be used (to confiscate weapons from illegally raised armed groups) only after a request from local authorities is submitted to the military commander in the particular region and the subsequent order from Defence Minister Marshal Dmitriy Yazov, a member of the Presidential Council, is received."

Comparison of Presidential Decree on Armed Groups

PM2507145590

Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian on 26 July on pages 1 and 2 carries the USSR presidential decree "On Banning the Creation of Armed Formations Not Envisaged by USSR Legislation and the Confiscation of Weapons in Cases Where They Are Held Illegally." Comparison of the SELSKAYA ZHIZN item with the translation of the Moscow Domestic Russian version published in the 25 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 44, reveals the following variations:

Page 44, column one, paragraph one, sentence one begins: [Text] With the connivance of the local authorities in a number of regions of the country armed formations have recently been set up that are not part of the USSR Armed Forces, border, internal or railroad troops, or other militarized formations envisaged by USSR legislation. This is causing tension, destabilizing the situation, and posing a threat to people's lives. Such actions are accompanied by the seizure of weapons and attacks on servicemen and militia officers and on various military and civilian facilities; they are associated with other serious crimes and completely innocent citizens end up as casualties. Often criminal elements and draft-dodgers or deserters from the USSR Armed Forces are recruited for these formations.

The seizure of weapons, ammunition, explosives, combat equipment, and other military supplies and acquisition of them by other illegal means are aided by irresponsibility and a lack of proper order in the organization of their safekeeping in a number of units and subunits of the USSR Defense Ministry and USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and organizations of other ministries, the illegal manufacture of weapons at enterprises, the financing of armed formations, and the provision of transport and communications for their use.

In accordance with... (picking up paragraph two, providing alternate opening paragraphs)

Column one, paragraph four reads: ...the president decrees:

1. Armed groupings, armed... (adding numeral)

Column one, paragraph eight reads: ...USSR is permitted.

2. Decisions and actions... (adding numeral)

Column one, paragraph nine reads: ...with the law.

3. The Ministry of... (adding numeral)

Second column, paragraph one, first sentence reads: ...their personal control.

4. Republican and local... (adding numeral).

Procuracy Meeting Examines Arms, Ethnic Issues

LD2607085290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 26 Jul 90

[Text] A coordinating meeting of the leaders of law enforcement bodies began two hours ago in the USSR Procuracy. Two questions are being examined at the meeting: the implementation of legislation directed at guaranteeing the safekeeping of firearms, ammunition, and explosive substances, and the state of the legality of law and order in the field of relations between nationalities.

Gorbachev Interviewed on New Union Treaty

AU2507210890 Vienna Television Service in German 2010 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Interview with Gorbachev's spokesman Arkadiy Maslennikov by ORF correspondent Raimund Loew in Moscow; date not given; in Russian with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Loew] In the Presidential Council a new Union treaty between the individual republics is now being worked out in order to counter the trend toward the crumbling of the Soviet Union. What is this plan like?

[Maslennikov] It is, to put it moderately, incorrect to say that the Soviet Union is crumbling. What we are experiencing is the swinging of the pendulum in the other direction. In the past we lived in a totally centralist system and now, in this you are correct, there are separatist trends as a reaction to this past. However, if the republics get equal rights and become sovereign and if they then weigh all the pros and cons, I think they themselves will realize that it is more advantageous for them to continue to develop the historically developed relations and not to simply sever them.

[Loew] However, the Russian Federation wants control over all economic resources; the Ukraine is talking about its own army—is this acceptable?

[Maslennikov] What you are saying is not quite correct. The Russian declaration of sovereignty, for instance, lists about a dozen areas that are left to the center. And look closely at the Ukrainian text! The Ukrainians do not see having the right to their own army as intending to establish a separate Ukrainian armed forces. The Ukraine wants to remain within the framework of a Soviet federation. And we go as far as saying that the relations of the union with some republics might be even looser, and might perhaps correspond to a confederation.

[Loew] Will the Soviet Union still have the same borders as now, according to this new Union treaty?

[Maslennikov] We hope so and we are working on this. Contours and details of the new treaty will be worked out together with the republics by December. Then it will be presented to the deputies and to the People's Congress. And there it could actually be passed this December.

[Loew] Do you think that the Baltic states will also participate in this?

[Maslennikov] We think so. You see, parallel to this there will be negotiations with the Lithuanians. Mrs. Prunskiene also participates in the Presidential Council. On all these questions the last word has not yet been spoken. Lithuania, for instance, is clearly coming closer to our standpoint. They are now far less extremist than in the past. After they first tried the most radical methods, they are now returning to the paths of law and reason. This is shown by the decision to freeze the declaration of independence.

No Documents Given in Case Against Kalugin

PM2507160590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 6

[S. Mostovshchikov "Details For IZVESTIYA": "A Case of Divulging Secrets"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA No. 206 published a report from the USSR Prosecutor's Office on the institution of criminal proceedings against former USSR KGB Major General Oleg Kalugin. This report makes it explicit that the general, who has been stripped of his rank, revealed state secrets in public pronouncements and interviews for the media in June-July 1990. The preliminary investigation and oversight of the execution of laws in the investigation of this case have been entrusted to the Main Military Prosecutor's Office.

It has been reported to IZVESTIYA that the Main Military Prosecutor's Office has no documents at the moment enabling it to officially charge former general O. Kalugin with the commission of the crime stipulated by Article 75 of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Criminal Code (discloure of state secrets). The only document the investigators possess is a resolution on instituting criminal proceedings signed by A. Vasilyev, acting for USSR Prosecutor General A. Sukharev while he is on leave.

Accordingly, no official charge has been made against Kalugin and, according to expert opinion, if it happens at all it will not be soon. First it is necessary to take

investigative action. But, at the moment, no one in the Main Military Prosecutor's Office can specifically say in what public pronouncements Kalugin disclosed the information that constitutes a state secret (for the safety of which, incidentally, the Main Administration for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press is still responsible).

Oleg Kalugin, as is known, is now registered as a candidate USSR people's deputy. Representatives of the Main Military Prosecutor's Office reported that the institution of criminal proceedings against him can in no way prevent him from continuing his election campaign and participating in the elections. At least until the former USSR KGB major general's guilt has been proved.

Grachev Interviewed on Foreign Economic Aid

PM2607083290 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 24 Jul 90 p 13

[Interview with Andrey Grachev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, by Fiammetta Cucurnia in Moscow—date not given]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[introductory passage omitted]

[Cucurnia] In a recent interview granted to the French newspaper LE MONDE, you said that the Russian Communist Party's founding congress was an event that could be compared with the October 1964 Plenum when Khrushchev was ousted, and you added that the 28th congress was the party's last chance. Do you think that the congress justified the hopes placed in it?

[Grachev] I still think that the Russian Party Congress was really a desperate attempt to halt and reverse the course of perestroyka before the 28th congress which promised to bring a split. Many people felt that the time for compromises was over and that the congress could not avoid drawing a clear line between two political hypotheses which are not only different but which lead in diametrically opposite directions. In this way, the congress confirmed on the one hand the inertia of some of the delegates and on the other the catharsis, or the need for a choice and the end of the policy of compromise which has been largely responsible for perestroyka's many problems. However, I cannot help thinking that many of the people who voted for the change did so out of self-preservation, without becoming true supporters of that policy. The congress laid down the premises for reestablishing contact between the party and the country. But these premises will only have value if they are applied.

[Cucurnia] However, the exodus from CPSU ranks continues. Communists from the CPSU's broad grass roots are leaving the party but also prominent and influential men like Russian President Yeltsin; Popov, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet; Sobchak, chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet; USSR deputies like Sergey Stankevich and Vladimir Tikhonov; and Russian deputies like Yevgeniy Ambartsumov. How do you explain that?

[Grachev] I would avoid exaggerating the importance of the decision by individuals and even whole groups of Communists to leave the party. I would do that because I fully realize the need for choice. And any choice involves people leaving. The paradox in this case lies in the fact that while the party leadership has decided to go forward toward democratic development of perestroyka, making an unequivocal step to the left, it is the democratic and left-wing forces that are leaving the CPSU. I see that as a logical defect. And I even see in it a degree of dogmatism, as if the decision to hand in their cards had been made before the congress and then maintained irrespective of its results. I think that it is primarily individual reasons, although political in nature, that are pushing some people out of the CPSU. I do not doubt the sincerity of their statements but I do not agree with their analyses.

[Cucurnia] Mr. Grachev, immediately after the congress, the Soviet leadership's attention seemed to move immediately from the party's problems to the country's problems with the drafting of the USSR's new economic and federal reform. But, at the same time, we are witnessing an unprecedented phenomenon of isolationism and demands for autonomy from the republics which seem to doubt these reforms even before they have taken shape. What is your assessment?

[Grachev] I think that despite the hopes and the great efforts made by the leadership, many of those forces which entered the public arena thanks to the conscious choices of liberalization made by Gorbachev have so far not succeeded in overcoming the stage of populism. Consequently, we are now facing inverted extremism and dogmatism. The Supreme Soviet decisions which you mention are also populist and provincial, often dictated by a desire for self-expression on the part of the deputies and leaders of the new political groups and the new parties. I regard these as egotistical whims not only because they do not take account of the center's interests but because they are placed above the true national interests. This is true of the Baltic republics which are making spectacular demands but have not fully assessed all the practical implications of true independence. It is true of the Ukrainian and Russian parliaments which are behaving as if they wanted to immediately test the extreme limits of their powers. I am sure that this is a transitional phase. We will ultimately be forced to come together in an area close to the center. But this will waste more valuable time.

[Cucurnia] Many deputies who originally spoke of the need for a new federal treaty are now saying that Gorbachev's decision has come too late; that it has already been overtaken by the events and that the path to confederal reform must now pass through the breaking up of the USSR.

[Grachev] I think that this position shows a desire to separate from the center at any cost. I do not feel like rejecting the accusation of delay, because there has certainly been delay. On the other hand, the very fact that the center was only a few months behind the radical demands may be unforgivable but it served to lead large sections of public opinion along this path. On the other hand, the thrust toward the fragmentation and the feudalization of the country, in my view, does not bode well.

[Cucurnia] However, that is the situation.

[Grachev] The conflict between these two forces which I will schematically call the left and the center is a distorted conflict because it is taking place between two factions moving toward the same end, but at different paces. It must be avoided in order to win the real conflict between those who are moving forward and those who are opposing this movement and pushing backward, trying to aggravate the crisis at any cost and thus justify the counterattack. I think that in this situation the center must draw all the necessary conclusions and speed up its own pace as much as possible.

[Cucurnia] How long do you think Gorbachev has to do this?

[Grachev] In the era of perestroyka, time is sometimes extended and sometimes compressed. Time depends on the speed of our movement. I think that the deadline for verifying the new phase must be fall at the latest. If we do not succeed in finding a practical and collective solution before the end of the year, I am afraid that it will be different people, not those we now have, who will have to find the vital compromise for the country.

[Cucurnia] In a recent article in IZVESTIYA, Aleksandr Bovin said that economic aid from the West could play a negative role, slowing down the pace of the reform. What do you think of that?

[Grachev] I think that our economic situation is extremely critical and any further deterioration in it would damage any policy because a national crisis of such dimensions is likely to burst the very banks of the policy. And it will then be difficult to channel it again. Of course, I agree that accepting aid is pointless if there is no specific plan for how to use it to bring about change. But we are on the brink of an absolute crisis and without room to maneuver provided by the outside world, we will not be able to overcome it.

Politburo Member Dzasokhov Holds News Conference

LD2507202790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1730 GMT 25 Jul 90

[News conference given by Aleksandr Sergeyevich Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; in the framework of the "At the CPSU Central Committee Press Center" program presented by correspondent V. Stepanyuk; at the Oktyabrskaya Hotel in Moscow on 25 July; video shows news conference—recorded]

[Text] [Stepanyuk] The program title "At the CPSU Central Committee Press Center," is now going to appear quite frequently in our programs. Today glasnost and democratization in our country have taken yet another important step: The press center of the party's Central Committee has opened in Moscow in the Oktyabrskaya Hotel.

Soviet and foreign journalists will be gathering here regularly, probably at least once a week, to receive information first hand about the most important events in the life of the party.

Georgiy Vladimirovich Pryakhin, deputy head of the Ideological Department of the CPSU Central Committee, has been appointed head of the press center.

The first person to address journalists at the opening of the press center was Aleksandr Sergeyevich Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, recently elected at the party congress.

[Begin Dzasokhov recording] We realize that it is expedient and necessary to provide information regularly to the mass media representatives of our country just as it is to the foreign masss media representatives who are accredited in Moscow concerning the internal activity of our party and its foreign policy tasks and initiatives. In this context on each occasion the corps of journalists, our own Soviet corps and the foreign journalists, will be offered assessments and conclusions on the visits of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to foreign states. Of course this will sometimes be combined and synthesized with the tasks that are being tackled by the head of our state and the lofty mission of the president of the Soviet Union.

We are proceeding from the initial fact that it is particularly important to hold meetings with journalists more frequently. That objective stems from the indisputable fact that there continues to be a high level of political interest on the part of Soviet people, our press, our radio, and television in the results of the party congress. From the reports that we have, the overseas public, statesmen, and mass media are continuing to turn to the results of the congress with unfading interest and on a broad scale.

Yesterday we met comrades recently elected to the CPSU Central Committee, who are mainly here in Moscow by virtue of their work, and in an atmosphere of complete accord we agreed that in the very near future we would all—including the members of the Politburo and the Central Committee secretaries—travel out to the local party organizations. This is of great importance for us. We have to feel the atmosphere that now accompanies the life of both the party and of the Soviet people.

I would also like to tell you that the leading bodies of the party have been renewed thoroughly. We are today working in a Politburo which is composed of 24 members. Only two of them are those who worked in the previous Politburo, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Comrade Ivashko, Vladimir Antonovich, his deputy.

Throughout all the years that have elapsed since World War II and 1945, never before have workers and peasants been so widely represented in the party. Today, 30 percent, or even 31 percent, of the new Central Committee—in which more than 90 percent of its membership has been renewed—are workers and peasants.

Generally speaking, the party and its representatives, particularly on the leadership levels, must fully renounce not only communist conceit, but also modes of behavior whereby we purport to encourage workers and tell them they're one of us. They have absolutely the same right to be the originator of decisions in the party and a participant in their adoption. Thus there must really be genuine equality here. This is particularly so because our workers' movement, as you can see, is very active at the moment, and I am a supporter of them being an integral political part of our joint work. [end recording]

[Stepanyuk] At the request of the editor-in-chief of UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA Comrade Dzasokhov described how he personally viewed the operating principles of the press center.

[Begin recording] [Dzasokhov] It is possible—I do not rule this out—that the participants at our press conferences, those who will be sitting at this table, could be representatives of other political tendencies too. At the same time, I want to draw your attention immediately to the fact that all of us—and I feel this in particular—are facing a need to recognize the enormous variety of gradations of political outlooks that have emerged, and so on, and that our view is that the bounds of this multiplicity should fit in somewhere within a perception of perestroyka and the need to renew all of the structures of our society. We will create the requisite organizational preconditions to liberalize as much as possible the way in which journalists are going to take part in our press conferences.

[(?Pryakhin)] I think that everyone who belongs to a particular press organ will have the right to be here and to ask any questions.

[Unidentified journalist] It has been two weeks since the 28th congress ended. It is, of course, too early to talk of any definite tendencies, but all the same you must have some sort of data on how realistic a prospect it is that a proportion of party members are going to leave in order to support the Democratic Platform. Representatives of the Democratic Platform, moreover, are currently in the Far East.

[Dzasokhov] The Democratic Platform has not left the party, and in this sense no split or any noticeable crack has occurred. The statement was made by Dr. Shostakovskiy, one of the leaders of the Democratic Platform, and as you will recall, he spoke of the intentions of those Democratic Platform representatives who think as he does: that they intended to set up their own party by October. This is a process, a process which, so to speak, is does not escape our attention. Moreover, you will know that among those who embody the Democratic Platform there are other views too. My own personal view is that we have not exhausted all the possibilities for a comradely political dialogue. This is, probably, the very moment when every Soviet citizen, and, what is more, every party member, against the background of the processes taking place on the social and political arena, should form a thorough idea for himself of whether he possesses sufficient democratic scope to carry out his own reformist plans, which should, of course, tie in with the program of renewal and perestroyka, and so on. And the answer to this question will result in a logical solution of some kind.

If you take a dispassionate view of the results of the congress, we can sense that a totally new turn has occurred toward enabling the comrades who are in the ranks of the party to realize themselves in their quest and in the implementation of their ideas, and so on. This is particularly the case in that the rights of the minority have been outlined very prominently, at all levels, if you will. They have a platform everywhere, and this was illustrated at the 28th congress as well. Therefore, as one of the party's representatives, I would invite all those who are seeking an outlet for their own, so to speak, political outlook, on the basis of constructive activity, to take a second look at the results of the party congress.

[Unidentified journalist] As the party's ideologist, do you not consider that it will soon be time for the CPSU to start thinking about setting up its own electronic press as well as printed publications?

[Dzasokhov] The vision of the party's role with regard to the mass media is a totally different one now. We support the law on the press that was adopted recently and its provisions. And the second thing I would like to mention is the exceedingly important and utterly indispensible positive role which has been played by the Soviet mass media, particularly during the first stage of perestroyka, when they maintained the activeness of public thinking, and so on.

We now proceed from the fact that the party's cooperation will be extended in its everyday implementation to those publications which are publications of the CPSU Central Committee. We feel the need to reach agreement with the State Radio and Television Committee on the party's having the possibility to make regular use of perhaps one of the television channels. This is an idea. It has to be thought through, because there are questions here relating to the achievement of this objective and there are organizational matters which also have to be taken into account. [end recording]

[Stepanyuk] A PRAVDA correspondent touched upon problems linked with the shortage of paper and the distribution of periodicals:

[Begin recording] [Dzasokhov] It would be a good thing if we were to find, both for the party press and indeed in general for all of our publications, at least a level of paper supplies corresponding to the current year, and if not, well, then, somewhere around the 80 percent mark. For the journalists, too, I would like to draw attention to the following circumstances: Almost 95 percent of periodicals are currently supplied on subscription to the home and only five percent are sold via the retail trade, whereas it seems to me that the new infrastructure, communications, transport, and urbanization in general, and everything else make it possible to change that ratio in favor of the retail distribution of the periodical press.

[Unidentified journalist] Aleksandr Sergeyevich, following your appointment to an important post in the party, what will the position be on your elevated state post as chairman of a committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet?

[Dzasokhov] The position will evidently be that this link should not be severed in the sense that perhaps I could remain a member of the Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Committee, so that I can continue my interest in the foreign policy activity of the Soviet Parliament and remain a responsive people's deputy. However, I cannot stay on as chairman of the committee. So I shall have a successor. [end recording]

[Stepanyuk] There was a question from an Arab journalist. Does the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department intend to continue to develop Marxist-Leninist theory?

[Begin Dzasokhov recording] I am not just a supporter of the further theoretical study of Marxism, but I also dream, it could be said, that as it renews itself the party should reinstate the tradition which existed earlier of broad political and political-theoretical discussions within the party, which existed both in the period of Plekhanov and in the period of Gramsci. This is exceedingly important. We should not envisage that this should just be done by people who work in the party itself and in the apparatus and that this is how things will develop. The intellectual potential of the party is very big, and we need a more precise definition of the facets of our ideology as the totality of our views of social processes, and we shall without fail deal with this. And I should like to say in general that to treat the party as if it were a party of secretaries of the CPSU Central committee or secretaries of oblast committees or several dozen names is a distorted, flawed, and threadbare idea. This party is an enormous part of the people. It today comprises 18.5 million party members, and the party today includes our outstanding cultural, literary, and scientific figures, representatives of our higher academies, our designers, our innovators, and so on and so forth. That is what the party is, and when it is judged from the viewpoint, among others, if its potential for a theoretical rethinking of everything that is taking place, then all this has to be taken into account. It is another matter that there must without fail be the organizing principle of the Central Committee, but one that assists and encourages creative endeavor. [end recording]

[Stepanyuk] Comrade Dzasokhov replied to other questions from journalists. Comrade Kapto, chief of the Ideological Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and Comrade Lebedev, deputy chief of the department, took part in the press center opening ceremony. [video shows Dzasokhov seated on a platform with three others replying to an audience of journalists]

Further on Dzasokhov News Conference

LD2507140190 Moscow TASS in English 1346 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—Politiburo member and Central Committee Secretary Aleksandr Dzasokhov told a news conference here today that the 28th Soviet Communist Party Congress's main results were the confirmation of the transition to a multiparty system and the approval of a way to a regulated market economy.

Dzasokhov was speaking at the newly-opened Central Committee press centre, which will function on a permanent basis.

Speaking about the party's central bodies elected at the congress, Dzasokhov stressed that their composition was renewed by more than 90 per cent.

Of the 24 Politburo members, only two—Mikhail Gorbachev and Vladimir Ivashko, who is now the party's deputy general secretary,—were members of the previous one.

Workers and peasants account for 31 per cent of the newly-elected Politburo members, whose average age is 48.

Dzasokhov said that the Central Committee press centre plans to host soon a number of meetings with new members of the party leadership.

It will maintain regular contacts with journalists to keep them briefed on the party's activity.

Speaking about the new composition of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, Dzasokhov noted that the presence of Republican Party leaders in it enhanced their responsibility before the whole party.

He said that the CPSU Central Committee did not intend to replace state bodies in future, but this decision presupposed that the party itself would outline its stance on many issues of society's life, including in the parliament. Dzasokhov emphasised that the CPSU could gain the vanguard role in society only by its activity.

"The CPSU is prepared to cooperate with new political trends emerging in the country," Dzasokhov said. At the

same time, he stressed that the party would seek to force extremist trends out of the political arena.

Asked about the possibility of the party's split after representatives of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU announced at the 28th party congress about its division, Dzasokhov said that at point was only the intention of Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy and his supporters to create their own party.

"So far, the Democratic Platform did not quit the party, there was no split and even a rift did not open," Dzasokhov said. "We did not exhaust all opportunities for a comradely political dialogue," he added.

One of the questions concerned the recent decision by the party Moscow City Committee Bureau to relieve Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy of the duties of the Moscow Higher Party School rector.

Dzasohkov stressed that this decision was within the competence of the party Moscow City Committe. In addition, "Shostakovskiy launched such an intensive political activity that he hardly has time to work as the school's rector," he said.

Asked about the possibility of restoring Soviet citizenship to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Dzasokhov answered: "Solzhenitsyn has all prerequisites to make use of our new legislative acts and our new moral facets."

Dzasokhov said he would step down from the post of the USSR Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Committee chairman, although he planned to continue his activity as a deputy of parliament.

Dzasokhov Denies Split in Party

LD2507144190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1250 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] [Announcer] The press center of the CPSU Central Committee opened today. The first press conference has taken place. It was held by Aleksandr Semenovich Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Our correspondent Vladimir Korablev attended the press conference. He is now sitting next to me in the studio and I am handing over to him. Please, go ahead.

[Korablev] Well, to begin with, I would like to say that it is to be a permanently operating press center of the party's Central Committee and its work will be carried out on a regular basis. Aleksandr Semenovich Dzasokhov stressed that members of the party's Central Committee, members of the Politburo, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, and also members of the Central Auditing Commission, elected at the 28th CPSU Congress and subsequently at the first organizational CPSU plenum, will speak to future press conference participants.

Today, speaking to Soviet and foreign journalists, Aleksandr Semenovich Dzasokhov naturally touched on the results of the work of the 28th party congress. He noted that two weeks after the completion of the work of the Soviet communists' forum, it is still too early to sum up its results. But, as for what the congress has given the party, itself, and our people, the reply to this question by the member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee was formulated in the following way: Above all, at its authoritative level, as a result of creative discussion, the congress confirmed that we are moving toward the multiparty principle and therefore, we see this as a logical democratic process. Another important circumstance resulting from the congress is that we are shifting away from the structural uniformity of our economy toward structural diversity and toward the attainment of a regulated market economy on socialist principles, and we are proclaiming this.

And the third fundamental tenet which the congress confirmed is the party's adherence to the socialist choice and a communist future. Aleksandr Semenovich Dzasokhov also told journalists that in the very near future, members of the Politburo and secretaries of the party Central Committee will travel to party organizations in various regions of the country in order to see how communists are implementing the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress and how the restructuring of party work is going.

Comrade Dzasokhov then replied to numerous questions from Soviet and foreign correspondents, including a question on the practicality of the withdrawal of members from the ranks of the CPSU and their shift toward the Democratic Platform. Replying to this question, Aleksandr Semenovich Dzasokhov said in part:

[Begin Dzasokhov recording] The external aspects of the whole problem relating to withdrawal from the party, be they the actions of individual party members and the decisions of individual party members or statements made on behalf of certain political currents within the party itself, of course, greatly concern both the Soviet people and also the party itself. There are various components here, so to speak. The case to which you refer we, nevertheless, in actual fact, regard in the following way: The Democratic Platform has not left the party, and in this sense, no split, or even a slight crack has taken place. The statement was made by one of the leaders of the Democratic Platform, Dr. Shostakovskiy and, as you will recall, he spoke of the intentions of those Democratic Platform representatives who think as he does; that they do not intend to set up their own party by October. This is a process, a process which, so to speak, I do not regard abstractly. Moreover, you know that among those who embody the Democratic Platform, there are also other views.

My own personal view is that we have not exhausted all the possibilities for comradely political dialogue. This is, probably, the very moment when every Soviet citizen and, what is more, every party member—against the background of the processes which are taking place in the

socialpolitical arena—should gain a thorough understanding of whether he possesses sufficient democratic broadness of view to carry out his own reformist plans, which should, of course, tie in with the programme of renewal and perestroyka and so on. And the answer to this question will also result in a logical solution of some kind. Therefore, as one of the party's representatives, I would invite all those who are searching for an outlet for their own, so to speak, political outlook, on the basis of constructive activity, to look again at the results of the party congress. [end recording]

Democratic Platform Holds Recruiting Drive

LD2507131890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 25 Jul 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] As we have already reported, after the 28th Congress, the leaders of the Democratic Platform of the CPSU left for a trip round the country, aiming to recruit supporters in order subsequently to form a new party. One such meeting has been held in Khabarovsk, and a POSTFAKTUM agency correspondent has reported that the meeting was successful.

Ivashko Views New Tasks, Perestroyka

AU2507122690 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 23 Jul 90 p 3

[Interview with Vladimir Ivashko, CPSU Central Committee deputy general secretary, by NOVOSTI correspondent Vladimir Krasnokutski on behalf of DER MORGEN; place and date not given: "Defender of Perestroyka"]

[Text] [Krasnokutski] Your election [as CPSU Central Committee deputy general secretary] was strongly supported by Mikhail Gorbachev. Do you know him well?

[Ivashko] I met Mikhail Gorbachev in Kharkov in 1982 where I worked at that time. Then I met him again in 1986 when the Central Committee discussed the candidacy for the first secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk regional party committee. When I worked at the Ukraine Central Committee, our contacts became more regular. I am a convinced supporter of Gorbachev, and I think that we would have entirely different living conditions if we had begun with perestroyka earlier, in the mid-sixties.

[Krasnokutski] Did you already have an argument with Gorbachev?

[Ivashko] I did, and I think that is quite normal and even necessary in relations between persons who hold high party offices. Some of my ideas were approved by the general secretary, others were rejected. I think that this must be the normal democratic practice; otherwise, one cannot work properly. However, there should be no disagreement on matters of principle.

[Krasnokutski] What specific tasks will the vice party chief have? Will he just be the second man, or will he lead the party to relieve Gorbachev of his work as president?

[Ivashko] We did not have time to discuss the division of labor. When I went to Moscow I did not know that my fate would change so suddenly. Gorbachev informed me of his intention to appoint me for this post only two days prior to the election, at the decisive phase of the party congress.

He said in his speech what he is expecting of his deputy. Some of his ideas are identical with my own ideas. We will soon discuss all matters in detail and state who will do what.

[Krasnokutski] How do you view cooperation with Ivan Polozhkov, the man at the top of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party, for instance, who is considered a conservative leader?

[Ivashko] I want to establish friendly and businesslike working contacts with Polozhkov and other leading Communist Party members of the republics and the regional committees. That was also my working principle in my previous office.

[Krasnokutski] You had a strong opponent in the person of Yegor Ligachev. Why were you, of all persons, elected deputy general secretary?

[Ivashko] Do not ask me. Ask those who voted for me. It is the delegates' decision. What made them vote for me is hard to say.

[Krasnokutski] Do you consider your new function to be a personal upgrading?

[Ivashko] It is not so easy in our time to clearly state where there is an upgrading, stagnation, or downgrading. What I think is this: Irrespective of the place where I work, I will work in the interest of society, so that this society becomes a really socialist society. Above all, I want to thank the delegates for the confidence they have shown by voting for me. It is now up to me to justify this confidence.

[Krasnokutski] Given the many problems in the USSR, do we not have to be concerned about the future of perestroyka?

[Ivashko] In his final statement at the party congress, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the CPSU is ready to cooperate with those forces who have an interest in perestroyka. We will try to find acceptable ways and common interests with those in the party who embody different opinions and currents.

I think we all waste a lot of time and energy on controversies, discussions, and the clarification of relations. Personally, I am striving to consolidate the party and orient it to resolving the urgent tasks that society is facing. In my view, the 28th CPSU Congress has adopted

a good basis for developing an effective program of social and economic restructuring, for developing science and culture, for all spheres of social life. We intend to implement our policy with the communists who work in the organs of the people's power.

[Krasnokutski] The opinion prevails that the democratic processes within the CPSU lag behind the democratization of society. Could the pace be accelerated?

[Ivashko] The democratization is a very complex process. The most important aspect is that the organizational pyramid of party work must be restructured so the main stress is shifted to the basis, the level of rayons and the grass roots organizations. If political life in the grass roots organizations starts seething again, we can say that the party has renewed itself.

[Krasnokutski] Like Yeltsin and other public figures, many communists are now leaving the CPSU. Will this process continue?

[Ivashko] I do not want to make any optimistic or pessimistic prognoses. My position is this: In these difficult times, no communist should consider leaving the party; much rather, he should think about how to strengthen and renew the party.

I repeat: I think the most different forces should be won for implementing perestroyka within the party, and not for the disintegration of the party.

Politburo's Makhkamov Interviewed

PM2507122590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 90 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[Interview with K.M. Makhkamov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, and chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet, by V. Naumov; place and date not given: "Such Multifaceted Autonomy. Conversation with a Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"—first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] Kakhar Makhkamov began his working life in 1953 as a mine ventilation chief. In the recent past, he held a series of responsible offices and was chairman of the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers. He has been first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee since 1985. He is chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet. Our conversation with Kakhar Makhkamovich began with his appraisal of the changes which have occurred in the party and society since the previous party forum. Specifically, as regards interethnic relations.

[Makhkamov] It can be said without exaggeration that, in the period between the two congresses, the country has gone a long way, especially in the direction of society's democratization and its politicization. Just the fact that people have started speaking up and have become frank—after decades of suppression and leveling—is highly significant. You must also bear in mind the actual character of oriental people—they are pliable, they dislike pushing their views, they absolutize the elders' prestige, and are committed to ancestral traditions. All this has been fortunately preserved. Today, when it is necessary to change the actual social foundations and there will be no success in anything unless everyone plays his part, we have had to do some hard work to disrupt this equilibrium. You know, now it might be hard to believe that it took us two years—1986 and 1987—to "shake up" the people. We bring the collectives together, organize rural gatherings, discuss current affairs. We call on people: Comrades, you are free to speak up. Tell us what is on your minds. It took two years for them to believe us. They spent two years sitting silently at meetings, just like in the past. And then gradually, bit by bit... One plucked up courage, another said a few words. In a new style somehow, on matters affecting the party and the leadership. Time passed—nobody abused the speakers, nobody was called to account. Then the rest realized: Democratization really seems to be advancing properly. You can understand that this process cannot develop without excesses. People are still unable to weigh everything up, while some pursue their own advantage behind all the noise. And so, our new task is to channel this process along healthy tracks, to ensure that democratization is actually democratization and not demagoguery. To ensure that the release of the people's energy does not become destructive. Look at what is happening in the Central Asian republics. Last year in Fergana, then in our own republic, in Dushanbe... And then the latest tragedy—Osh. The situation is still on the boil, it is impossible to say that calm has been fully restored in this region.

[Naumov] The press has given much attention to these cases of outbursts of violence which are unbelievable in our society. Causes were identified: grave social and demographic situation, unemployment, landlessness, inflammatory actions by mafiosi, conservative forces, and ambitious elements yearning for power, weakness of local law enforcement organs, and others. Which of all these diverse factors had the greatest effect during the tragic February days in Dushanbe?

[Makhkamov] Not only the ones you mentioned, but also a plethora of other causes and excuses were intertwined to cause the tension which, in its own turn, was released through such a grave and bloody outburst. The causes are still being analyzed, and final conclusions will be drawn when the investigation produces its final word. But I would like to go a little further into the past for the sake of future clarity. I think that the solution of acute problems of interethnic relations should have been resolutely tackled at the very beginning... Tough, even harsh, but fair measures should have been adopted to extinguish the flames from the very start. But this did not happen, impunity made many people confident that they could do whatever they liked, everything would be forgiven. You see? It was also bad that our Constitution proved to lack much that was necessary. The provisions

whereby culprits used to be taken to task in the past have been abolished. And now our law enforcement organs have their hands and feet tied and can do nothing to maintain law and order.

In order to promptly localize and extinguish the hotbeds of tension—and they are still smoldering here and there—the center must provide a political appraisal of events in every instance. In an atmosphere of glasnost, so that the people know. Unfortunately, this is still not being done.

And another general observation. Ours is a vast country, ties are very complex. I would primarily single out the economic ties, ties within the national economy. Whenever members of such a close community start promoting their own interests—to use the currently fashionable parlance—this results and has already resulted in disruption of the rhythm of the national economic process. The first six months of this year have been relatively successful in the republic. But I am in no position to say exactly what will happen in the second half-year. We are honoring our commitments, for example we are shipping out as many tonnes of cotton as are expected from us. But we receive little in exchange. The prevailing situation is such that we are unable to acquire even that which has been allocated under the material backup plan. Our suppliers work on a barter base, presenting us with ultimatums to supply things we do not produce—buses, cranes, cars, and trucks. Where are we going to get them, we ourselves need all these things. I suspect that the Union government or, as we say, the center, lacks proper knowledge of the actual situation. Even though we have said all this, it was also said at the congress. And something else. There is insufficient feedback in the implementation of radical reform. A prompt reaction to the way the national economy responds to various steps by the government.

Of course, the weakening of economic ties also weakens other very important ties—political and interethnic. It undermines the moral basis of our unity.

[Naumov] More is being said today about republics' autonomy, be it economic or political, than about mutual ties and unity...

[Makhkamov] Yes, republics' sovereignty and their autonomy must be expanded. But with due consideration for established ties. And with due consideration for each republic's situation. There are some republics which are capable of being self-sufficient in virtually everything. There are also republics which cannot, for the time being, enjoy such autonomy, their starting positions are completely different. It so happened that some republics engaged in nothing but raw material production, others produced finished products, but they engaged in reciprocal exchanges. Now, however, with due consideration for each republic's sovereignty, there ought to be a differentiated approach to this question. At least for the first two-three years, until the situation is leveled, until the republics find new forms of mutual contacts and reciprocal exchanges of commodity resources, again proceeding from their own potential and the priority avenues of their own sectors.

As for the transition to the so-called market economy—this is a very complex question. This was emphasized at the congress: This is not a matter of just changing prices, it is a matter of radically demolishing everything that prevails but has proved inconsistent. Naturally, prices will change. They will rise here and there, they will fall as regards some products. In other words, each commodity's price must reflect its actual cost.

[Naumov] The congress raised the question of republics using world prices for intra-Union trade in basic production goods—like cotton for example. What is your attitude toward such a presentation of the question?

[Makhkamov] I am in favor. I think that prices, and not just for cotton, ought to be reviewed with due consideration for world prices so that each republic could trade at this level both inside the country and with the outside world.

[Naumov] Tell us, please, can you see a differentiated internal political structure of republics depending on their economic, cultural, historical, ethnic, and other conditions and traditions? And how do you perceive Tajikistan's political sovereignty?

[Makhkamov] Each republic has its nuances, its own ethnic and other peculiarities, and they must be taken into account. I am convinced—and I am supported in this by the republic's entire public, including the intelligentsia—that our future path is associated with the Union. This is the main point. I think that you can have as many differences as you like on specific details. The only point to bear in mind is that certain issue are crucial for our unity, this unity must be strengthened. Take the languages problem for example. When our session adopted the Law on the Language, we enshrined the state status of the Tajik language in the first article. The very next article, the second, provided that the Russian language, being the language of interethnic contacts, is freely functional on the republic's territory. Our entire law comprises 37 articles and makes all the provisions to ensure full freedom of action for all the languages spoken in our republic. But it also provides that every person, depending on his duties and the office he holds, must have a certain knowledge of the state language. So that he could communicate with people calling on him for solutions.

[Naumov] What limits do you perceive for the autonomy of the republic's Communist Party?

[Makhkamov] This is an easy question to answer, seeing that the 21st Tajik Communist Party Congress clearly expressed its opinion in this context. The republic's party organization advocates the CPSU's unity. No other decisions are considered acceptable by our congress. At the same time, each party organization, proceeding from

local conditions, can work out its own political questions, directly concerning a given territory, a given republic, oblast, or rayon. But this can be done only within the bounds of the CPSU's program and statute documents, without being in breach of them.

[Naumov] The congress which was meant to accelerate perestroyka processes within the party and in the country has ended. How would you define now the priority and paramount tasks?

[Makhkamov] I am seriously worried about the lagging of theory. Why is it that the science of interethnic relations is trailing behind? Why is it that now we do not have a single scientific elaboration on the topic of interethnic questions? There is no shortage of television statements by scientists or roundtable discussions. But this is nothing more than journalism, whereas we need—as much as the air that we breathe—scientific conclusions and recommendations applicable to specific policy. In the same way, there are no scientifically substantiated decisions on religion. They are not to be found in the academies of sciences. Even our own republic's Academy of Sciences, when it thought about it, discovered that it had only three scientists well versed in Islam. Just three. And we are talking about a large academy. Never mind how this vacuum developed, it has to be filled. Immediately, at that.

In purely practical terms, what I would like to see is an accelerated elaboration of the new Union treaty between Union republics and the Union, and thus a renewal of the federation. The Union treaty will be the foundation of both economic and political sovereignty. True enough, the Presidential Council has adopted measures, and even we have set up such a commission by decision of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and it is already at work. The sooner the draft treaty is worked out, discussed in each republic, and then adopted, the more quickly, it seems to me, will our country's most complex problems be resolved.

As for the congress itself, I think that it was successful. I would describe as its main achievement the fact that the CPSU preserved its unity. Despite the contradictions, despite the calls by some speakers to switch to other parties. I perceive another gratifying result in the renewal of the party's central organs, something which all communists and the country's people were waiting for. And the congress itself—democratic in both form and essence—was a product of perestroyka and, at the same time, a step toward its deepening. It will go down in history as the CPSU's first genuinely democratic congress.

Polozkov Comments on 28th CPSU Congress

LD2607041490 Moscow TASS in English 0401 GMT 26 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov, Viktor Saklakov]

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Ivan Polozkov, has hailed the results of the 28th Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) Congress as not only reaffirming the Communists' perestroyka course but also as clearing the way to further, sweeping changes in society.

Speaking in a TASS interview, Polozkov, who was elected a Politburo member at the Congress, also cited its "adherence to principle and vivid demonstration of commitment to the socialist choice".

This, he said, is especially important "amid the economic crisis and certain ideological confusion and vacillation among the public". Commenting on the large infusion of fresh blood into the CPSU leadership at the Congres, Polozkov said the pace of replacements "this time corresponded to the tempestuous changes under way in society".

He stressed the fundamental importance of the marked renewal and rejuvenation of the CPSU Central Committee which now includes, he said, "advocates of different approaches to key policy issues".

Polozkov pointed out as another positive development the fact that the Politburo no longer includes statesmen and economic managers, thereby "ruling out a situation where they themselves would take decisions, implement them and then report back on how the decisions had been fulfilled".

He criticised precongres claims that the party was on the verge of collapse as "a conscientious heightening of tension" by those eager to see disagreements within the party as a pretext for dividing it.

"I did not and do not accept that view," said Polozkov.

Commenting on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's withdrawal from the party, he said: "To be or not to be in the party is a matter of conscience for everyone. I don't believe our party needs anyone to be a member by compulsion."

Polozkov said the 28th CPSU Congress and the preceding founding congress of the Russian Communist Party "proceeded in the same vein, with truth being born through the sharp, wide-ranging discussion". He said he does not see any differences of principle between the positions taken by the two congresses.

Polozkov voiced hope that the second phase of the Russian Communist Party Congress will take into account "everything rational, useful and fruitful that marked the work of the 28th CPSU Congress".

He said that the Russian Communist Party will be guided by the policy statement and charter adopted by the CPSU Congress, acting as an integral part of the CPSU.

He explained that the Russian Communist Party was formed not as a separate party but as a major component

of the CPSU. "There are simply no reasons to speak about a transfer from the CPSU to the Russian party," he said.

Asked about prospects for relations between his party, on the one hand, and the Russian legislature, inner parliament and government, Polozkov said: "Our party takes a loyal and constructive attitude towards the republican agencies of power and administration and supports all the initiatives of people's deputies and the government towards resolving crucial problems in society."

"I would like to point out specifically that when sound and constructive ideas are suggested by people's deputies who do not belong to our party, we actively support them as well," Polozkov said.

Central Committee's 'Last Chance' Viewed

90UN2390A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 29, 18 Jul 90 p 1

[Article by Boris Oleynik, USSR people's deputy and member of the CPSU Central Committee: "I Want To Save My Party"]

[Text] It appears that the congress, alas, did not attest to the situation that really exists in the country, although we were being persuaded that the highest forum of communists was reflecting this situation. It seems to me that this is far from the case. Many things were confused at the congress by virtue of the emotions and the severity of the problems that have accumulated in the party and in the state. Now, in a calm and business-like situation, it is necessary to coordinate the CPSU Central Committee, to analyze the priorities, and to work, while understanding that the party and the people have given the Central Committee, it can be said, a last chance. And it will no longer be possible to play clever tricks and to cover up idleness and incompetence or irresponsibility with a loud phrase or a nice slogan.

What ways do I see to realize all of this? Well, first of all, the newly elected Central Committee should sincerely be imbued with the fact that Article 6, which was transformed because of the indecision of the highest organs of the party apparatus into a sixth reactor, was repealed, and that all of these unsubstantiated cliche- "fetishes" of the type "the party decided," and "the party is our rudder," and "the party is our brain, honor, and conscience," and so forth, as they say, do not sell anymore. Moreover, to our misfortune, not everyone by far who in different years held the helm of the party possessed all of these qualities—brains, honor, and especially a conscience. Briefly, there is a strong desire to put up this slogan in the work office of each member of the Central Committee: "Our party is fighting for the title of communist."

The time has come for today's leadership organs of the party to turn over the riding britches, Mauser, and the Zeiss binoculars of vigilance to the museum of history for eternity, and to change into working overalls of an austere cut of consistency and glasnost. I am confident that we will be greeted with a handshake on meeting once again only when we stop blasphemously shifting the grave sins of a limited contingent of the party leadership and its sword carriers onto millions of honorable communists who perished in czarist, Gestapo, and Stalin-Beria torture chambers and in Brezhnev camps and mental institutions; when the names are published of executioners who on instructions from above fought with their own people, concealing the essence of the cruel monsters in the uniform of the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] and the KGB, public prosecutor tunics, white medical coats, and scientific mantles. And if the French called their own Communist Party the party of those executed by firing squad, what then are we in such a case to name the CPSU?

Let the sinners repent, but let the honor of the righteous with party cards be restored. And I see this as one of the paramount tasks of the newly elected and renewed Central Committee, and, as a member of the Central Committee, I will do all I can for its realization. In addition, I think it is necessary immediately to work out a concept of how to move further ahead and how to resolve the great questions of the economy, ecology, and national policy? And once again: How to walk on the road ahead if we do not want to look back at what remains behind us? How to resolve questions associated with power engineering and health if we do not find out the whole truth about Chernobyl, if we do not name the true culprits of the tragedy that occurred, and if we do not make those answerable who today are conducting a policy of genocide against the Ukrainian and Belorussian peoples by putting forth the criminal concept of a 35 rem radiation, at which range radiation allegedly does not constitute a threat to a human being?! How to resolve national and interethnic problems and how to create a union of equal and sovereign states if we do not return to the sources of that which led the country and its people to the edge?

In general, not looking too far ahead into the future, even to the year 2000, I will say that in the near term, as a member of the CPSU Central Committee, I will give priority to this specifically. I am troubled that too few cultural figures got into the Central Committee, and they were elected with a battle. So, as previously, some believe that the vanguard role of the party is possible without the serious and thoughtful participation in its leadership organs of writers, painters, composers, theater directors, and the like. But I hope that, as the saying goes, the day is still long, and there will be more plenums and congresses of the CPSU, and that those who at the 28th Congress measured the processes of renewal in the party only with Stakhanov-Zaglyadov yardsticks will either become convinced of their error, or will be forced to leave the political arena.

I understand that I can be rebuked: Once more about the vanguard role of the party, and once again there will be talk about the fact that the CPSU should engage in

questions of the economy, ecology, the state structure, etc. Yes, it should. Along with other parties, no matter how they were treated by individual CPSU members. For now the Communist Party of the country will have to fight for the minds of the citizens, so to speak, on an alternative basis, and to attract to its ranks those who are learning to persuade others that it is the party of communists that will be able to make our life better, richer, and more honorable.

Am I confident that the new party Central Committee will be the kind that will be able to set a course not on those "socialisms" that we have endured quite a lot of in this century—"victorious," "decisively victorious," "total," and even "developed"—but on a single one: socialism with a human face and built on universal human principles? I do not know. But there is a hope, and it, as is well-known, dies last. In any case, I can say with confidence that as a member of the Central Committee, as a communist, as a citizen, and as a poet, I will not be silent. I want to save my party, I want its renewal, and I will fight for this to the end.

'Political Pluralism' Exhibit Opens 12 Jul

90UN2394C Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 28, 14 Jul 90 p 2

[Article by M. Andriyanova: "Museum of Pluralism"]

[Text] The "Path to Political Pluralism" exhibit opened on 12 July in the Museum of Revolution.

Diverse forms of the new Soviet pluralism are displayed in the halls of the Museum of Revolution. There are faded posters "We will overtake and surpass America in the number of political parties," and there are illustrations of the bloody tragedies of our days, such as photographs of "martial law" in Abkhazia. One of the halls contains programs of more than 20 parties and social organizations, their posters, and even, so to speak, new material relics—from flags and placards to T-shirts that proclaim, for example, the Social Democratic Party of Russia.

Not one display can be found here that does not reflect the events of recent years. For example, a table, chair, the State Flag, and the USSR Constitution that were at the scene in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses during the election of the first president of the country, or materials of the historical enlightenment society "Memorial," among which there are manuscripts and books of a number of active figures of the legal defense movement of the 1960's-1980's. A separate stand is dedicated to A.D. Sakharov.

The exhibit does not answer questions of whose views are correct, or what path will lead our country to prosperity. Its materials only ascertain the different attitudes in sociopolitical life.

'Semifinished' Ryzhkov Report Analyzed

PM2507160790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by E. Gonzalez under "Topics of the Day" rubric: "The Storming of the Market Begins In August"]

[Text] We learn in childhood, thanks to folk wisdom cast in the form of sayings and proverbs, that there exists a category of citizens to whom it is better not to show unfinished work. What Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov spoke of at the 20 July session of the Presidential Council and Council of the Federation can definitely be considered a semifinished product, an intermediate stage in the elaboration of a program for transition to market relations. However, we have been shown this semifinished product—N.I. Ryzhkov's report has been published. This means that the government does not class us among those to whom unfinished work should not be shown. How can we respond to this trust?

First: We should not run into the store with a sack to buy up salt and matches—the report does not give the slightest cause for this. Second: We should calmly consider and, if possible, discuss within our own circle the government's intentions, and there are plenty of grounds for this in the report.

By way of my own modest contribution to the general analytical work I will voice some purely personal ideas. In common, evidently, with many of my fellow citizens, I read the report with a large dose of suspicion—the first attempt to lure us into market waters, acknowledged to be a failure, had left its mark. But I am not sure that it left the same mark on everyone. I confess, I got through the passage in the report which deals with price reform fairly calmly. And not in the least because this is now talked about incidentally, in general terms, and hypothetically. Understanding is even expressed of the fact that without an improvement in the state of finances and the monetary system, any option for the reform of price formation will lead to intensified inflation, distortions in the economy, and negative sociopolitical consequences.

But even in the first report—the one delivered at the USSR Supreme Soviet session—the section on the alteration of prices by directive did not in itself, I recall, elicit any protest or indignation from me. In general, I would not be able to say: Look, take out this section, together with your illusory compensations, and I agree to everything else. It seemed to me then that to establish new prices and control them is only a component part (and perhaps not the principal one) of the policy chosen by USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], ministries, and the government on the road to market relations. But they would like to begin installing the market with an office on whose doors a plaque saying "Administration" could be hung. And the Gosplan chairman, say, would become director of the plan-regulated socialist market.

When I read the latest report by the USSR Council of Ministers chairman, I was naturally waiting to see when

this desire would again reveal itself. Well, given special vigilance, it is possible to discover one or two hints, of course. But no more than that. Almost right at the very end, where the subject of the structure of state administration organs is being dealt with, we read of "the regulation of processes in the conditions of the formation of the all-union market" and that these organs "will be called upon to develop the market infrastructure in every possible way." Finally, there is the painfully familiar: "the allocation to each all-union state administrative organ of a certain sum in appropriations in the annually ratified budget..."

However, there is no longer the persistent dragging in of directive planning or the desire to preserve management structures. It has to be admitted that self-preservation in market circumstances has noticeably receded into the background, while (according to the principle of connecting vessels) concern about the market itself—concern that it may simply emerge—has come to the fore. Hence the precision in setting tasks: first... second... third... Hence the clarity and specific nature of the actions to resolve these tasks: in August... in September...

Certainly it is still possible to find in the report plenty of contradictions, third degree problems made to sound like first degree ones, axioms which do not sound axiomatic and hence require proofs, and, finally, simply omissions. For example, among the "key problems" of the agro-industrial complex there is not even a hint at land problems and the use of the output of agricultural labor. Unduly great importance, in my opinion, is attached to the export of consumer goods from the country.

And a truly important question like financial and credit policy is posed in the report no more decisively than a dripping faucet. It says on this topic: "We would consider a statement by the president extremely important..." We already know what a presidential decree is.... But what is a "statement"? Is its implementation also obligatory, or is it merely noted?

In short, quite a number of debatable or unconvincing passages can still be found. But this is not the point. After all, I said that it is a semifinished product, an intermediate stage. The main thing is the trends. I have already noted one of them—the specific nature of the steps in a particular direction. The second is the tone of the report.

The tone differs sharply from the way things were at the Supreme Soviet session. There the chairman of the Council of Ministers spelled out every factor and every problem in the minutest detail. The deputies, and you and I, thereby became not only possessors of the fullest information about the transition to the market, but also seemingly joint participants in the government's decision—responsibility for the consequences was laid at everyone's door, whether they wanted it or not. The deputies, naturally, tried to duck their share.

Now the situation is entirely different—N.I. Ryzhkov has informed us not about how the market might be approached, but about what the government is doing and subsequently intends to do to achieve this. This is quite another theme. Even if someone does not approve of the actions of the Council of Ministers, he simply must pay tribute to its decisiveness in assuming responsibility.

But do we understand that decisiveness and responsibility are now required of us all? With regard to our own affairs, of course. When I read today about decrees, programs, and regulations proposed for August and September I think not so much about their merits as about the possibilities of implementing them. Or are we again going to farm out the necessary conditions for this to ministries and departments? Well, then we will have ministerial-style withdrawal of the state, and a similar promotion of joint-stock holding. No, a collection of documents elaborated by an institute in conjunction with an enterprise itself on the legal, economic, and organizational transition to, say, joint-stock operation is nevertheless more important today than any theoretical squabble.

So what should we do now that we have read N.I. Ryzhkov's report: shout "Hooray" or "Help"? Neither one nor the other. First we should think, and then we should act. After all, before we know it we will find ourselves at the market counter.

Magadan Man Explains Attack on Obkom Building

OW2607063990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Jul 90

[From the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] As has been reported, at 0325 on 15 July, shots were fired at the Magadan Obkom [Oblast Party Committee] building. They were fired by Yuriy Georiyevich Skorokhodov, a 33-year-old resident of the city and senior foreman at the Nagayevo Construction and Installation Administration. An investigation is under way. [video shows unidentified correspondent interviewing Skorokhodov whose hands are handcuffed in front of his body and who is flanked by men in civilian clothes]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Tell us, what were the reasons for your actions?

[Skorokhodov] The main reason for my actions was dissatisfaction with the results of the work of the 28th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The reason for my actions was the fact that the demands of the miners, which they expressed during their strike on 11 July, as well as the demands of the democratic faction in the Communist Party and of the democratic movement in general, were not satisfied.

[Correspondent] Are you a member of any political party or movement?

[Skorokhodov] No, I am not.

[Correspondent] Why did you choose this particular form of protest?

[Skorokhodov] Well, it was in a way a cry from the heart. I wanted to show the public that the situation in the country is very difficult at present; I understand it to be extremely grave. I wanted to cry out to people: Come to your senses. [video shows white columned facade of party building with stucco damaged by bullets.] For the country to move ahead it is essential... [changes thought] well, everybody knows the miners' demands: depoliticization of the state apparatus, resignation of the USSR Government, and nationalization of the party's means and basic funds.

[Correspondent] What kind of weapon did you use?

[Skorokhodov] An NT's [expansion unknown] 21-12.

[Correspondent] How many shots did you fire?

[Skorokhodov] Five shots.

[Correspondent] Did you aim where you were shooting?

[Skorokhodov] Yes, I aimed where I was shooting.

[Correspondent] What if there had been people there?

[Skorokhodov] I was confident; I made calculations. I know how to shoot so I was confident that no people would suffer.

[Correspondent] Did you have any personal grievances?

[Skorokhodov] Absolutely everything was fine with me. [video zooms into plaque identifying the building as the Magadan Obkom] [end recording]

I do not know how you feel, but I get the impression that we are not moving rapidly forward but rather backward to some sort of primitive state, to a completely primitive state and loss of society's moral principles and moral foundations. The next step will apparently be the shooting of people, of opponents and enemies.

The saddest thing is that we already experienced all of this several decades ago; it persisted for a long time in our history. Apparently we did not learn much in all these years. The act of this man, which proves this primitive trend, is all the more odd in views of the fact that he is the father of two small children.

Moscow Trial of Pamyat Leader Commences

LD2407161990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Hearing of another criminal case started in the Moscow City Court. In the dock is Konstantin Smirnov-Ostashvili, the leader of Pamyat, and the organizer of the famous January scandal at the Central Writers' House. This is the first trial in the country in which a person is appearing in a criminal case accused of inflaming ethnic discord. In the view of the correspondent of IZVESTIYA the trial will be a long one. In any event, on the first day only one procedural matter was examined. Ostashvili dismissed his lawyer for the reason that he had visited the Moscow collegium and was able to see for himself the ethnic composition of our lawyers, and deemed it impossible to make use of the services of these persons. Ostashvili demanded a lawyer from any democratic, as he put it, country.

A few words about the courtroom: There were about two hundred Pamyat supporters gathered there. Every word from Ostashvili was greeted by ovations and the chanting of slogans and demands to clear the hall of representatives of the press. Unfortunately, the chairman was unable to bring about order.

Trial Postponed Until 26 Jul

LD2507222990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] The hearing of the case, which was planned for today, at the Moscow City Court involving Smirnov-Ostashvili, who is charged with anti-Semitism and incitement of interethnic strife, has not taken place. The accused did not appear in court. The hearing has been postponed until tomorrow. Should the accused not appear he will be brought to court by force.

Something like a meeting occurred in front of the court building. Both supporters of Smirnov-Ostashvili and his adversaries took part in it. Kovalevskiy, leader of the Democratic Afghan servicemen [Demokraticheskiye Voiny Afgantsy] organization, who was discharged from the Army, appealed to people for kindness and decency, with which interethnic strife cannot coexist. He called hostility the main danger to our society.

However, the supporters of Smirnov-Ostashvili at once called Kovalevskiy a Jew and a Zionist. Utterances of this kind prevailed at the meeting. For example, a member of the Pamyat society, who called himself Vinogradov, proclaimed that in West Europe people live well because as far back as the Middle Ages they got rid of Jews. He called for deportation of all Jews from the USSR to Israel. In this respect he elucidated that the very concept of a Jew is not defined by official nationality, but by deeds and the way of thinking. On this basis he categorizes the leaders of the interregional deputies' group as Jews. There were even sharper words at this meeting, including one of an obviously anticonstitutional nature.

Article Examines Anti-Semitism in USSR

PM2507103590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 90 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences S. Rogov under the "Nationalities Problems" rubric: "Does the Jewish Question Exist in Our Country?"]

[Text] Earlier the very posing of this question in our country would meet with a hostile response: There is no such problem, would be the answer; it has been solved in

the USSR once and for all, like all other problems in the nationalities sphere. Today, at a period of deteriorating interethnic relations, we discover at every step that the nationalities question in our country is still far from settled. Indeed, in circumstances where the emigration of citizens of Jewish nationality from the Soviet Union reached 100,000 people last year and may prove to be two to three times greater this year and when one city after another is swept by rumors about inevitable Jewish pogroms, to deny the existence of the Jewish question in our country would be extremely stupid. Therefore the need to pluck up courage and try to understand where the problem lies and what approaches are needed to resolve it is long overdue.

In their works K. Marx, F. Engels, and V.I. Lenin addressed this far from straightforward topic more than once. In his well known article "Regarding the Jewish Question," K. Marx saw in the Jew's alienation from the capitalist society surrounding him the quintessence of the system based on man's exploitation of man. It is only possible to overcome this alienation if society manages to overcome man's alienation in general, that is, through social revolution.

After the October Revolution, much was done to eliminate this alienation. In the twenties Jewish cultural institutions were developed in the USSR and in 1934 the Jewish Autonomous Oblast was formed in the Far East. This approach, incidentally, not only did not impede the natural process of assimilation among the Jewish population, but accelerated it.

However, during the Stalinist years national emancipation began to decrease. The majority of Jewish cultural institutions were abolished in the thirties and forties. The gulf between slogans and reality which held sway under the administrative-edict system led to the emergence of covert forms of discrimination against the Jewish population, and then to the shameful battle against "cosmopolitanism," to which many representatives of the Jewish intelligentsia fell victim.

Unfortunately, these crude violations of Lenin's nationalities policy were not subsequently properly assessed. Deliberate silence prevailed around the Jewish question. The Jewish population's natural requirements for cultural institutions were not satisfied. At the same time manifestations of so-called everyday anti-Semitism met with virtually no condemnation.

An important role was played in the Jewish national self-consciousness by the appearance of a new factor—the formation of the state of Israel, which was heralded in Zionist circles as the solution of the Jewish question.

Considerable harm was caused by the activity of a group of writers who, in the guise of combating Zionism, began to revive many of the theses of anti-Semitic propaganda whose origins lay in the Black Hundreds and Fascism. Taking refuge in Marxist phraseology, they made crude attacks on Jewish culture, Judaism, and Jews in general. This propaganda was of invaluable service to Zionist centers, which launched a propaganda campaign for the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel.

Today, however, it is impossible not to notice the swift process of the renaissance of Jewish culture in the USSR. In addition to the magazine SOVETISH HEIMLAND, dozens of different Jewish cultural institutions operate in the country—printing, publishing, and academic institutions, and cultural centers. The stupid restrictions on the activities of synagogues have been removed. Soviet Jews' cultural links with foreign Jewish communities are developing.

At the same time a whole series of extremist groups have sprung up in the country in recent years, launching unbridled anti-Semitic propaganda. "Pamyat" and its kindred organizations are quite shamelessly reviving anti-Semitism as a weapon against perestroyka. Even a classic forgery like the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which was fabricated by the Tsarist police in order to incite the benighted masses to combat the revolutionary movement, has been wheeled out. The myth of the "Jewish-Masonic-Bolshevik conspiracy" against Russia has been dredged up. Jews are accused of the murder of the Tsar's family, the Stalinist repressions, forcible collectivization, the corruption of the fatherland's culture, and the destruction of the ecological system.

It seems to me that a rule-of-law state must ensure the genuine protection of people of any nationality. The gap between the law which forbids propaganda of national discrimination and emnity and the "blindness" of those who are called on to oversee the law's observance cannot be tolerated.

Unfortunately, political anti-Semitism has been adopted as a weapon today not only by the newfound Black Hundreds. A whole series of literary publications in recent months have openly associated themselves with anti-Semitic positions. In issue after issue they print the most odious fabrications. It is perhaps the first time in our our history that Judophobia has become so popular in some circles of the intelligentsia. And this unprecedented "respectability" of anti-Semitism arouses the greatest alarm. After all, an attempt to wreck our society's process of consolidation on the platform of perestroyka and to set one part of society against another is taking place here.

All this was bound to affect the current processes in the Jewish population, where emigration tendencies are becoming increasingly widespread. The recently legalized Zionist political organizations, which are trying to take over Jewish cultural institutions, are also calling for emigration.

It should be noted that today Zionist ideology meets with little response among Soviet Jews. The majority of them have no desire to leave their motherland for the sake of the "promised land." Nevertheless, the number of applications to the Visas and Registration Department is growing. It is impossible not to see that fear of the specter of pogroms is begin to assume the scale of panic.

The current situation when emigration documents start to be handed in by people who by no means adhere to the views of political Zionism cannot but arouse alarm. Obviously, we should examine objectively the causes of the present wave of emigration and adopt practical measures.

The Supreme Soviet is intending soon to adopt legislation guaranteeing the right to leave the country. But the problem cannot and should not be solved via mass emigration. The Jewish question must be resolved in a consistently democratic way in the Soviet Union itself. It can be presumed that this solution should not impede either the processes of natural assimilation, or the preservation of Jewish culture, or the freedom to leave the country—for Israel or for any other state. But perhaps the most important thing is the free development on a democratic basis of Jewish cultural institutions satisfying the natural national requirements of Soviet Jews. At the same time, attempts to decree the course of the development of Jewish culture are obviously unthinkable—it may develop in Yiddish, in Hebrew, and also in Russian, which is the native language of the overwhelming majority of Soviet Jews, and in other languages.

The most important thing is the absence of any kind of compulsion or discrimination on ethnic grounds whatsoever. There should be no artificial bans or equally artificial "obligations" on the compulsory involvement of people in particular cultural or national institutes.

I would like to express the hope that these institutions will develop the progressive, democratic traditions of Jewish culture, and not become reserves of obscurantism or instruments of political activity of a nationalist sort. There should surely be only one criterion—everything that enables Soviet Jews to feel that they are citizens with full rights in the family of Soviet peoples.

Of course, in the conditions of the emerging pluralism in our society, it would be senseless to try to "ban" Zionist or any other nationalist ideology. At the same time we should not forget that political Zionism ultimately denies the possibility of a democratic solution of the Jewish question in a multinational state. Therefore, we should not "ban" criticism of Zionist ideology either, especially of those varieties of Zionism which preach the inevitability of enmity between Jews and gentiles. Neither should provocative activity of Zionist currents of an openly anti-Soviet, profascist tendency (like Meir Kahane's "Jewish Defense League" and similar organizations) enjoy immunity.

I think that the thesis that the consistently democratic solution of the Jewish question is directly linked to society's progress toward the solution of the basic socioeconomic and political problems which it faces is not outdated. At the same time there is a need for objective analysis of contemporary conditions and processes which facilitate or hamper the integration of Jews into the multinational Soviet society in the course of the perestroyka of our federation.

It is obvious that the need for a frank, honest discussion of how we are to remove the tension that has arisen over the Jewish question is long overdue. Academic specialists on ethnic problems, the leaders of Jewish organizations, and representatives of the Jewish intelligentsia—and not only the Jewish intelligentsia—could take part in this discussion. It should certainly not be a matter of drafting a "monolithic platform" or "condemning incorrect platforms," but of an open dialogue which must facilitate the process of social consolidation on a perestroyka platform.

Supreme Court Plenum Held on Acquittals

LD2507152190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] A plenum of the USSR Supreme Court is taking place in Moscow. It has been examining the issue of compliance by courts with the demands of the law when delivering acquittals. The plenum's participants stressed that the delivery of a lawful and substantiated acquittal, based on legal investigation material, is a vital condition for preventing the conviction of innocent people and for protecting the honor, dignity, rights, and legitimate interests of citizens. The issue of courts examining complaints about the unlawful action of state administration bodies and officials that infringe the rights of citizens was also examined.

Conference on Soviet Kurd Affairs Opens

LD2507121690 Moscow TASS in English 1128 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—More than a thousand Kurds—scholars, writers, local government and party officials, representatives of foreign Kurdish communities—are attending a conference that opened in Moscow today to discuss problems facing the Soviet Kurdish community.

The meeting will last two days.

Trade Union Body Urges Law on Union Rights

LD2407144490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] The central committee of the Soviet industrial trade unions has made an urgent request to the country's parliament to review and adopt a USSR law on trade union rights at its autumn session. A statement addressed to the USSR Supreme Soviet includes an objection to the draft statewide law published in the press on public associations. This act of law, should it be adopted, in effect equates a trade union with political parties, people's fronts, and other citizens' groupings; this does not correspond to the functions and place of the trade unions in society. And the lack of a statewide act of

legislation on trade unions deprives their activity of reliable legal guarantees in defending the interests of the working people.

The central committee of industrial trade unions views the adoption of a USSR law on trade union rights as an important parliamentary act which would serve the task of providing social protection for the working people under the conditions of creating a law-governed state and the transition to a market system.

Poll Views Food, Consumer Goods as Main Problem

90UN2205A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 25, 23-29 Jun 90 p 2

[Sociological survey results, reported by Zh. Toshchenko, V. Boykov, Ye. Levanov: "Communists on the Party and Its Future"]

[Text] A study entitled "Communists on the Party and Its Future" was conducted by the Sociological Research Center of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee 11-16 April 1990 in 18 regions of the country. The sociological survey involved 5,326 CPSU members, of which 892 are secretaries of party organizations.

What problems are causing you the greatest concern? (Response indicates percentage of those polled) 68—food supply;
64—supply of industrial goods;
59—crime;
56—ecology;
55—price increases;
49—rampant black-market dealings;
43—violations of social justice;
42—callousness in relations among people;
40—interethnic conflicts;
32—wages;
28—political instability;
18—labor conditions.

What do you see as the most acceptable way of extricating ourselves from the situation which has come about regarding the supply of goods? 53—shift to a system of rationing while maintaining present prices;
28—increase prices given sufficient goods.

How do you evaluate the draft CPSU Rules? 20—positively;
38—more positively than negatively;
17—more negatively than positively;
9—negatively;
16—difficult to say.

How do you evaluate the draft Platform of the CPSU Central Committee? 4—unfamiliar with it;
17—positively;
35—more positively than negatively;
18—more negatively than positively;
9—negatively;
16—difficult to say.

Do you support development of the cooperative movement?
48—yes;
42—no;
9—difficult to say.

Do you support private ownership of small enterprises?
52—yes;
36—no;
11—difficult to say.

Do you support development of a lease-based economy?
84—yes;
6—no;
8—difficult to say.

Do you support development of a planned market economy (the consumer regulates the market, the market is regulated by the state)? 66—yes;
11—no;
22—difficult to say.

How do you relate to the provision of the communist outlook being retained in the party rules? 20—in favor;
22—more in favor than against;
15—more against than in favor;
16—against;
21—difficult to say.

How do you relate to the "Democratic Platform in the CPSU"? 12—unfamiliar with it;
36—familiar with it, but have not yet taken a position;
15—actively support it, and am prepared to become a member in the event a new party is formed based on it;
17—do not agree with it;

How do you evaluate the degree of political tension in the country? 80—high, fraught with conflict;
15—high, but not conflict-ridden;
2—not high;
3—difficult to say.

Which aspects of party activity are in greatest need of renewal? 40—theoretical party principles (views concerning what concepts the party should be based on, how and in what direction it should develop);
36—ideological activity;
50—organizational relationships (between "upper" and "lower" party strata on the rights and obligations of various CPSU elements);
35—structure of the apparatus;
23—long-range party policy;
27—party policy in the short range;
36—party work methods.

What in your opinion is most important for the party in the present political environment? 19—organizational demarcation (formation of two parties taking into account differences of principle on fundamental questions of theory and policy);
51—cleansing the party of conservatives (those who adhere to the old);
35—cleansing the party of people who repudiate socialist ideals.

Plant Poorly Recompensed for VCR Barter Deal

PM2407153190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jul 90

[Report by Oleg Bobin and cameraman I. Galperin from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Newscaster] Production of goods in short supply has proved to be an extremely advantageous business. But will the enterprise that undertakes to produce goods of this kind derive benefit from it? Our correspondent Oleg Bobin reports.

[Bobin] [video shows people working on videocassette recorders in factory] The Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine has manufactured the first few thousand state-of-the-art videocassette recorders. You may wonder: Why are metallurgical workers doing this? But it turns out that for a long time now the world's leading metallurgical concerns—Krupp, Mitsubishi, and others—have manufactured a very wide range of goods: furniture, automobiles, and electronic equipment. But when it came to consumer goods, until last year our leading sector was producing saucepans. But the times demanded that more complex tasks be resolved.

[V.I. Savranskiy, USSR Ministry of Metallurgy department chief] In fact every combine has large workshops, automation experts, and electronics experts, along with mathematicians who independently develop most extensive, very complex programs.

[Bobin] We have begun to make fuller use of production units' potential. Moreover, metallurgical workers are tackling assembly work, buying units from a Japanese firm in return for above-plan cast iron. This does not happen only at the Kuznetsk combine. There are also four other enterprises that have begun production. This year they will produce 125,000 videocassette recorders. These goods, in short supply in the stores, are priced at 3,000 rubles [R].

[Savranskiy] Quite unplanned output for which the budgets of the Ministry of Finance and other organizations never made provision. The recorders sell at R3,000, the plant receives R360, and everything else goes into the budget. The figures relating to this question indicate that the mechanism for financing ruble outlay [pokrytiya] during barter transactions, which applies not only, incidentally, to this output, but also to a whole series of other output today, is not reflected in government acts.

Chernobyl Accident Committee Formed

PM2507155390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by V. Zaykin under the "Fact and Commentary" rubric: "How To Use Billions Correctly"]

[Text] A committee to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station] has been formed within the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergency Situations.

This committee is assigned the tasks of coordinating all work in the afflicted regions. As is well known 14 billion rubles [R] were earmarked for the priority emergency measures to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe. Now the problem is to be able to use these enormous funds sensibly. The committee must elaborate a mechanism for spending money which would prevent their futile expenditure. Alas, practice shows that there are grounds for fears here.

One of the main tasks is to overcome the lack of coordination which is now occurring in the organization of work to eliminate the consequences of the accident. Today ministries and departments of union and republican subordination are working in an uncoordinated way. Plans to perform particular operations often do not have an adequate scientific foundation. Sometimes either excessive investments are envisaged—to play safe—and sometimes, conversely, inadequate funds are envisaged. It is here that the reason for the irrational use of funds often lies.

In addition to "coordinating" functions the committee will resolve the entire package of tasks connected with resettling people living in "polluted" regions and their adaptation in the places where they will reside in future. A very great deal here depends on the conclusion the scientists come to—what degree of radiation contamination of the terrain will be deemed safe for human life. Then it will finally be possible to determine accurately how many people should be resettled and how much housing should be constructed or repaired in "clean" regions.

Hundreds of thousands of people today can with complete justification regard themselves as the victims of the accident at the Chernobyl AES. It is already essential to provide for what compensations will be made to them in the event of illness. It has emerged that often public movements in the afflicted regions are demanding from the government measures which have already been taken. The reason for this is not entirely clear. Either it is that people are not following press reports very attentively or else there is a shortage of information connected with measures to eliminate the consequences of the accident. In either case the committee will pay the most serious attention to the problem of the population's provision with information.

Program Aired on Civil Defense Preparation

LD2207164290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0535 GMT 22 Jul 90

[Text] [Announcer] And now a cinema film [kinoprogramma], "For the Population About Civil Defense." The introduction is by Lieutenant General Gennadiy Vasilyevich Filatov, USSR deputy chief of civil defense for combat training. [video shows stills of towns and rural landscapes]

[Filatov] Comrades, the civil defense of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a package of state-wide measures of a social, economic, and defense nature carried out to protect the population from accidents, disasters, and other natural calamities. The operation of the Soviet Union's civil defense meets the principles of humanism and is in full accord with our state's peace-loving foreign policy and its defense doctrine, and it is effected in strict accord with the legislation that exists in our state and in the Union republics.

In the technology they employ, the majority of our country's industrial enterprises use high-potency poisonous toxins such as chlorine, ammonia, alkalis, and radioactive components. In the event of an industrial accident, these present a serious threat to the blue and white-collar workers at these enterprises, and in the event of major accidents there is also a threat to the population living in the immediate vicinity, as occurred in the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station. The accident at Chernobyl exposed serious shortcomings in the training of civil defense sub-units and of the population. For the first time here, we came up against the formidable power of nuclear energy running out of control. Because of the low quality of civil defense exercises, the population proved ill-prepared for protection against radioactive contamination following the accident at Chernobyl.

One of the chief tasks of the country's civil defense is universal compulsory training of the population in civil defense matters, namely protection and action in emergency situations. The most effective methods of protection can be developed and a grouping of forces and means can be created, but this can fail to be utilized if people do not know how to act in particular circumstances, if they are ignorant of the methods of protection, and if they are incapable of protecting themselves and their families from various cataclysms resulting from accidents and natural disasters. People today must know not just how to act in response to civil defense alerts, what to take with them in the event of evacuation, or how to behave in a protective shelter, but they must also know how to give aid to casualties and what needs to be done to eliminate the consequences of accidents or disasters. The task today is, in the context of the restructuring which has started in the country's civil defense system, to introduce the most effective ways and means for training the population and, on this basis, to enhance the quality of instruction and the sense of responsibility of the manager of an industrial enterprise, organization, or institution for his personal training in civil defense matters, and at the same time for the instruction of the labor collectives under him in how to act in emergency circumstances. Thank you for your attention.

[Announcer] This film deals with the tasks of civil defense, its structure, the system of training different groups of the population, and the procedure for training civil defense forces to rescue people in emergencies. The USSR's civil defense is organized according to a territorial-production principle. Overall direction is exercised by the USSR Council of Ministers. Everyday civil defense is under the direction of the USSR civil defense chief. The controlling body is the USSR Civil Defense Headquarters. At the local level, civil defense is under the direction of the chairmen of the republican councils of ministers and the chairmen of the executive committees of soviets of people's deputies. National economy installations provide the centers for civil defense training; plants, factories, and collective farms, where training takes place on a differential basis. [video shows town and street scenes; map of USSR with lines radiating from Moscow to the capitals of the union republics; map of Ukraine with lines radiating from Kiev to Ukrainian towns; chart of chain of command at an enterprise.] A critical situation threatening people's lives and health could occur unexpectedly. One of the main tasks of civil defense is to arrive to give speedy assistance and to reduce losses to a minimum. [video: caption says "Chernobyl - Chronicle of Difficult Days". Film of jeeps driving down country lane; shot of Chernobyl power station.]

Here is Colonel General (Viktor Mikhaylovich Kotbakhteyev), chief of the USSR civil defense staff.

[Kotbakhteyev] Of late, civil defense has become a package of state-wide measures of an economic, social, and defense nature, implemented to protect people in accidents, disasters, and other natural calamities. Civil defense carries out and directs rescue operations and other urgent work to eliminate the consequences of accidents, disasters, and natural calamities. One of the tasks of civil defense is thus to instruct the country's population in methods of protection and modes of action in emergency circumstances in peacetime. In view of the fact that these tasks are substantially new for civil defense, there has been a fundamental restructuring in order to perform peacetime tasks. We currently need a considerable reorientation in people's minds and an understanding by them of the increased social and economic significance of civil defense measures. [video: Kotbakhteyev's remarks are partly accompanied by video of men with breathing masks, decontaminating trucks, a collapsing building, and people working in rubble]

[Announcer] Civil defense training is compulsory for the population, and everywhere it is implemented, it takes into account production features and territorial characteristics. The country's population is notionally divided into five groups according to the nature of the duties they perform: Each of them receives civil defense instruction under its own program. Enterprise managers are trained on civil defense courses and also at educational establishments for improving skills and retraining personnel. The duties of the enterprise manager comprise the performance of tasks to protect production personnel in emergency circmstances; directing civil defense forces and means in rescue operations and other urgent work; and carrying out production activity in circumstances of possible damage or contamination. To these ends, command and staff exercises are held at every national

economy facility every year. Every leader is responsible for the readiness of his structural subunit for performing civil defense tasks. The principal task in the training of units is the instruction of personnel. Thus, communications personnel must be able to establish and maintain reliable communications to enable civil defense forces to be commanded. Firemen must be able to contain and put out fires and rescue people from the upper floors of blazing buildings. The civil defense echelon for servicing shelters and bunkers must be able to prepare protective installations for work in different contamination conditions. Medical teams must be able to give first aid.

An essential factor in training is the rehearsing of standard procedures. Taking account of the situation that can occur in a natural calamity, accident, or disaster, medical units and establishments train in advance for the deplomeni of medical facilities in field conditions and employing diverse premises. [video shows an audience listening to civil defense lecture; caption gives the five groups referred to above as "leadership personnel of civil defense"; "personnel of non-militarized civil defence units"; "blue and white-collar workers and collective farmers not in civil defense units"; "citizens not engaged in production or the services sphere"; and "schoolchildren and students." Audience looks at lecturer pointing to a map; woman lectures in front of a chart headed "Organization of the defense of the blue and white-collar workers of the 'Promsvyaz' plant." Men working with radios. Man opens door labelled "emergency exit"; door labelled 'canteen'; all in what is apparently a shelter. First aid training; hospital facilities]

The nonmilitarized units undergo training in conditions approximating real situations. Psychological preparation of the personnel is therefore a key aspect of training. [video shows firefighting exercise]

Specialized civil defense units are being set up at enterprises with a high level of chemical, blast, fire, or radiation danger. They are trained to act in surroundings with high concentrations of poisonous substances, intense radiation contamination, and high temperatures. Their professional training enables them to seek out victims quickly, render first aid, evacuate them from the scene of the incident, and isolate the source of danger. The highest form of preparation within the units is the training exercise, in which procedures for rescue work and other urgent tasks are worked out as a whole. The victims are carried out to an uncontaminated area to be transferred to motor vehicles. The duties of the members of the civil defense units are determined by their purpose and the functional obligations of each man in the unit and its commander. [video shows men donning protective clothing and masks; emergency drill at industrial enterprise]

The working population is trained at their own place of work, acquiring the necessary skills to act in emergency situations that may arise both at enterprises and in the home. All the theoretical knowledge acquired is backed up by practical training session conducted by the heads of the structural subdivision. [video shows civil defense classes and training at a factory]

[Announcer] In rural areas it is especially important for our people to know how to protect their houses, their farmyard animals, and water sources in the event of an emergency situation. [video shows people sealing off windows of a house and a well in rural setting]

Civilians not engaged in the production or service sectors study civil defense independently. They are given advice on specific issues by housing management offices. Here one can watch new films on civil defense, while trained specialists give talks on how to protect children against radioactive and poisonous substances, where to obtain and how to use personal protection gear, what to do during evacuation and a number of other vitally essential issues. Parents with small babies are shown how to use child protection chambers. [video shows woman demonstrating use of masks and protective baby carrier to mothers and children]

Pupils and students are trained as part of their curriculum. The rudiments of civil defense knowledge are taught in schools, vocational technical colleges, technical colleges, and higher educational institutions. The students are trained to act as commanders of nonmilitarized units. [video shows students and pupils studying lay-out diagrams, protection gear]

In the younger classes the pupils are introduced to personal protection gear and learn to make cotton and gauze bindings. The older children work through the norms. They study instruments used for radiation and chemical surveying and in dosimetric monitoring. They are all trained to become members of nonmilitarized formations.

In addition, the girls are given medical and hygiene training and are taught to give first aid and look after the sick.

Since 1989 the country has had a new system for notifying the public of emergency situations.

[Teacher] Today we are holding a civil defense lesson entitled "Warning Signal - Attention All". What is this warning signal? It's a signal that precedes information on emergency announcements. It is emitted by switching on sirens and factory and transport horns. The reason for this is to attract the public's attention. What kind of information might be transmitted after the siren sounds in peace time? Tell us please, Pavlik.

[Pavlik] In peace time there might be announcements about storm warnings, floods, accidents at atomic power stations, and the possibility of an earthquake.

[Teacher] When there is a threat of radioactive contamination the command is given to prepare personal protection gear. Can you remember what personal protection gear we know?

[Natasha] The personal protection gear is a respirator and gas mask.

[Teacher] What other personal protection gear do you know, Valera? Sit down Natasha.

[Valera] Other items of personal protection gear are gauze bindings and protective suits.

[Teacher] A warning is issued: Seal residential premises. What does it mean to seal residential premises? Denis, please.

[Denis] Sealing premises means blocking off air access. For example, shutting doors firmly, stopping up windows and filing in other cracks.

[Announcer] Somebody who is well-trained and psychologically prepared is able to withstand elemental forces and survive in emergency situations. In today's conditions the responsibility of each citizen of the USSR to study civil defense is becoming especially important. [video shows school room; Pavlik, Natasha, Valera, and Denis answering questions]

Official Urges Assistance in Anti-AIDS Fight

90US1186A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 29, 21-27 Jul 90 p 5

[Report on interview with A. Sorokin, academic secretary of the Interdepartmental Council on AIDS Scientific Problems, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent Yu. Sigov; place and date not given: "AIDS: From Medicine to Politics"]

[Text] **As of June 1990, 512 HIV-infected individuals were registered in the USSR.**

According to data of the World Health Organization (WHO), over 263,000 individuals on the planet are currently registered as being ill with AIDS, and this number continues to increase. Is there a real possibility we will be able to stop the "20th century plague"? This is the subject of discussion between ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent Yu. Sigov and A. Sorokin, academic secretary of the Interdepartmental Council on AIDS Scientific Problems.

As of this June, data shows that the AIDS epidemic has encompassed 156 countries, including the USSR. In this regard, the WHO report published at the 6th International AIDS Conference recently held in San Francisco noted that the true figure for people in the world ill with AIDS exceeds 600,000, and that the number of HIV-infected individuals is expected to reach 20 million by the year 2000 (presently they amount to about 8 million).

AIDS has struck all continents except Antarctica. Most of those ill with AIDS are in North America—160,000 cases (130,000 of which are in the United States), Africa—65,000, and Europe—35,000 (France—9,000, Italy—6,000, Spain—5,500, etc.). A small number of people ill with AIDS are to be found in the countries of Asia and Australia.

[Sigov] What is the latest data on people ill with AIDS in the USSR?

[Sorokin] The first person ill with AIDS in our country was registered in March 1987. As of June of this year, 512 HIV-infected cases were registered, of which 39 were ill (22 people died, 14 of whom were children). In general, about half the HIV-infected cases in our country are children. Cases of infection have been identified in 12 Union republics; most of the infected individuals are in Moscow (25 percent of the total) and the majority of these exhibit a combination of HIV-infection and syphilis.

Predictions for the spread of the infection in our country are distressing—by the end of 1990 we are expected to have 1,600 cases of HIV-infection, by 1992—24,000, and by the year 2000—about 1.5 million cases.

[Sigov] Who in our country is engaged in the fight against AIDS and what funds are being spent by the state to cure this dangerous illness?

[Sorokin] In addition to the USSR Ministry of Health and the USSR Ministry of Medical Industry, 10 various councils, commissions, and associations in the country are engaged in the fight against AIDS: the All-Union Extraordinary Anti-Epidemic Commission, and a governmental commission established in accordance with the law recently adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet "On the Prevention of AIDS." Their actions are not being coordinated, however, and they lack financial support. For example, it was not until April of this year that R1.5 million were allocated to our council for fundamental research. And funds have not been allocated at all for the "main" sectors of the fight against AIDS, in spite of appeals to the government. Nor do we have hard currency [valyuty]. For comparison purposes I will state that the cost of eliminating just one in-hospital outbreak of HIV-infection came to R1.5 million.

[Sigov] And how is the fight against the AIDS epidemic going abroad, particularly in the United States?

[Sorokin] As the country with the greatest number of AIDS cases, the United States is devoting a tremendous amount of attention to this problem. Expenditures for fundamental AIDS research alone will amount to $2 billion in the United States in 1991. About $16 billion will go to treatment and $388 million will be spent on providing AIDS education to the public. Significant funds are expended on the fight against AIDS in other countries: 1 billion francs in France, 80 million marks in the FRG, etc.

Incidentally, discrimination or victimization directed against individuals ill with AIDS is punishable by law in countries abroad. Thus, an employer in France will be

fined 40,000 francs for refusing to accept an HIV-infected individual for employment. We sometimes see cases where infected people are not accepted for employment and are refused treatment and hospitalization. Unfortunately, the law recently adopted "On the Prevention of AIDS" makes no provision for specific sanctions against discrimination directed towards AIDS victims.

[Sigov] What methods are now being used to treat AIDS in the USSR and abroad?

[Sorokin] The main drug used to treat AIDS here and abroad is azidotimidine [name as published], whose original synthesis technology was developed in the USSR Academy of Sciences. It was never introduced for mass production in the country, however. We are presently forced to purchase it abroad since we lack the raw materials, production capacity, and technical equipment to produce it.

Our scientists have also developed means of diagnostics as good as what is seen abroad ("Peptoskrin-2" [name as published], for example), but their broad-scale introduction has run into the same difficulties. Vaccines and preparations which suppress reproduction of the HIV virus are being developed in institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Ministry of Health, but even the most optimistic predictions foresee for creation of a vaccine in the USSR and in the United States no sooner than the year 2000. In addition, this research enjoys the broad support of the government and private firms in the West, while with us practically everything relies on the enthusiasm of scientists.

[Sigov] The problem of the fight against AIDS is acquiring truly global proportions. Judging from everything, however, our government looks upon it as something secondary....

[Sorokin] As early as 1985, academician R. Petrov spoke at a session of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and stressed the importance of AIDS-related work, but he was not understood. Unfortunately, judging from the funding being allocated to us by the government, this understanding is still absent. And the AIDS problem on the planet has long since passed out of the category of the medical and into the political sphere.

[Sigov] And so we are lacking the most necessary things in the fight against AIDS—drugs and funding. Today our prominent political and state officials, various philanthropic organizations are purchasing single-use syringes abroad. To what degree will this help solve the problem of HIV-infection in the USSR?

[Sorokin] The public health care experience of many countries of the world shows that even a full supply of individual protective means, single-use instrumentation and equipment by medical institutions and the population, has no decisive influence on the rate and nature of spreading the epidemic. We do not only lack single-use syringes, but blood transfusion systems, chain [kolchuzhnyy] gloves for protecting surgeons' hands, and much more. It is shameful to admit, but imported condoms cost R10 on the black market, and ours in drug stores have simply disappeared. But this is a fundamental means of AIDS prevention! And we do not have them.

[Sigov] So what must be done to stop the spread of the AIDS epidemic in our country?

[Sorokin] First of all it is necessary to unite and coordinate the efforts of state and social organizations in the fight against AIDS. This is presently the job of a governmental commission headed by a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, but it is evident that it will not have all the authority necessary to solve the problem. I would remind people that a similar commission in the United States was headed by President Reagan. We should establish a state foundation for the fight against AIDS, develop international cooperation in combating this disease, and sharply increase financing for fundamental AIDS research, including hard currency financing. Additionally, preventive measures, AIDS education, beginning in the classroom, and the observance of moral standards and rules of conduct should also assist in preventing the spread of the AIDS epidemic in the USSR.

If we continue to fight AIDS as before, using only appeals, then the USSR will get the chance for the first time in history to catch up with America and overtake it (in numbers of HIV-infected cases).

Interior Ministry Reports Scale of Drug Abuse

LD2407151190 Moscow TASS in English 1439 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—More than 117,000 drug users have been officially registered in the Soviet Union now, a briefing in the USSR Interior Ministry was told today.

However, scientists and specialists attending the briefing believe that the number of addicts is much larger. Considering that the amount of narcotics seized from the black market every year is about 50 tons, they believe that there are several million potential users in the country.

The acuteness of the problem is illustrated by data given at the briefing: about 50 per cent of drug addicts do not live until 30. Their life expectancy after they become addicted to narcotics is not more than 25 years.

About 60 per cent of young addicts make suicide attempts. Drug addicts account for about 50 per cent of all burglaries. Within a year, every addict draws five to seventeen people into using narcotics.

The fact that drug addiction involves increasingly younger people is of particular concern, speakers at the briefing emphasised.

According to ministry data, 70 per cent of drug addicts are in the 16 to 29 year-old age group, of them 30 per cent are people under 24.

The number of teenagers who use medicinal drugs and other narcotics and have been booked by militia is larger than that of drug addicts. Their number grew by 5.8 per cent compared with last year (an increase from 12,200 to 12,900 people). In all, 25,600 toxic addicts have been identified by now, with teenagers accounting for 50 per cent of them.

This year 534 people were held responsible by Interior Ministry agencies under adminsitrative law for illegal acquisition, storing and use of narcotics, or 54 per cent more than in the similar period of last year. Criminal proceedings over the same period have been instituted against 81 per cent more adults for drawing teenagers into using narcotics.

Radio Airs Servicemen's Housing Problems

LD2507111290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0800 GMT on 25 Jul carries an 8.5 minute report by Soyuz announcer Yuriy Semenov on the problem of housing for Soviet servicemen's families, a problem becoming very acute in connection with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from East European countries. It has been calculated that 63.5 per cent of the families of servicemen of the central group of forces have no houseing accommodation in the USSR.

Semenov continues: "What is needed here, clearly, is some sort of comprehensive state program: This was the conclusion reached by the country's Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of defense and State Security, at a sitting attended by our correspondent (Vladimir Stanovskiy). After the sitting, he met and talked to Aleksandr Petrovich Kudryavtsev, secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Architects and rector of Moscow Architecture Institute, who is also chairman of the Soviet center of the European Culture Society, and of course a deputy; Colonel General Eduard Arkadiyevich Vorobyev, commander of the central group of forces, and a USSR people's deputy; and (Igor Petrovich Novoselov), consultant of the sector for defense and state security issues of the USSR Supreme Soviet secretariat. Colonel-General Vorobyev began the conversation."

[Begin recording] Vorobyev says: "I have here in front of me an official notification from the Stroyeksport foreign trade association dated 12 July this year, in which the Czechoslovak side offers us 1,198 small houses in 1990, houses of 13 types of modification, to house 10,293 people. The total value is 59,595,670 foreign currency rubles - that is, 60 million rubles, with furniture. We are to give an official reply by 30 July. They are ready, they are module-type houses."

Architect Kurdavtsev says that he hoped for better things from the Czech builders, and the brochure, offering individual dwellings for one or two families, with a household plot, sounds attractive. "But looking at the brochures here, they nevertheless look a bit barrack-like perhaps rather better finished and furnished than our Soviet barracks." A better option could be found, he suggests, and despite the poor level of development of the building industry, and the urgency of the problem, the opportunity must be seized to do better.

The participants discuss the pros and cons of the Czech offer, which at least provides an instant solution to even just one tenth part of the problem.

Novoselov, who joins in the conversation by telephone, says: "The most acceptable thing for us, of course, would be for the Czechoslovak side to agree to at least partial payment for these prefabricated houses, building materials, and sanitary engineering equipment on account of the property which the central group of forces is leaving on the territory of the Czechoslovak republic. The corresponding negotiations are under way in this connection. Thus, on 19 July a meeting took place between USSR People's Deputy Comrade Ochirov, representatives of the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Finances, and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Ties of our Union, and the Czechoslovak ambassador in Moscow. Yesterday talks began between the USSR minister of foreign economic ties and the CSFR minister of foreign trade. The Ministry of Defense put forward at these negotiations its views on the type of these prefabricated houses. I hope that both sides, both the Soviet and Czechoslovak, will in the course of these negotiations find acceptable solutions, since both the USSR and the CSFR have long been linked not only by cultural and technical ties, but also by economic ties." [end recording]

Curbs on Antique Sales Explained

PM2307085390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 6

[F. Ivanov report on interview with G. Popov, chief of USSR Ministry of Culture Main Administration of Fine Arts: "Unlawful Export"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has passed a resolution regulating trade in works of art and antiques.

G. Popov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Culture Main Administration of Fine Arts, comments:

"Henceforth all trade in works of art and antiques produced before 1945 and presenting significant artistic, historical, or cultural value will be carried out exclusively in art exhibition salons and specialized state commission stores. These include paintings, drawings, sculpture, decorative and applied arts, furniture, carpets, icons, church ornaments, and religious articles.

"Cooperatives, joint ventures, and international associations and organizations are not now entitled to collect or sell them."

[Ivanov] What is behind the restrictions.

[Popov] This has been done to prevent the export of high-quality, valuable works of art. I would remind you that as far back as 1979 the USSR Council of Ministers passed a resolution whereby control of the antiques trade passed over to our ministry. However, since then much has changed in life and new forms of trade not subject to our control have appeared. Trade in works of art has become unregulated and is sometimes carried out in a uncontrolled way. As a consequence significant artistic assets, sometimes of interest to museums, disappear abroad.

[Ivanov] What has to be done to preserve our artistic and cultural heritage?

[Popov] We are very soon, along with the USSR Ministry of Trade, to compile a list of cities where it is advisable to set up specialized commision stores and draw up trading regulations for them. There are four such centers at the present time—three in Moscow and one in Leningrad. Every such store must have working in it a commission of respected experts able to pick out from the works received those items valuable to museums. The remainder could go for commission sale or be sent for auction, but without the right of export.

News Conference on Holy Synod Decisions

LD2407204690 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 24 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Anna Grigoryeva]

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—The Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church decided to divide the Leningrad Metropolitan See that was headed by Metropolitan Alexiy who has been elected patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, Metropolitan of Rostov and Novocherkassk Vladimir, who also heads the Moscow Patriarchate's Chancellery, told a news conference here today. He informed correspondents of the Holy Synod's decisions of July 16, 19 and 20.

The Holy Synod decided to separate the Novgorod Eparchy from the Leningrad Metropolitan See, he said. It also decided to appoint Archbishop Ioann, who has been bishop of the Kuibyshev Eparchy, to Leningrad. He will be granted the title of Archbishop of Leningrad and Ladoga.

The synod discussed the situation in the Belorussian and Ukrainian Orthodox church eparchies and in some eparchies in Russia in connection with the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster.

The Holy Synod decided to support the initiative to establish contacts with churches, religious associations, ecumenical and public organisations in the Soviet Union and abroad. It has organised a coordinating commission to promote efforts to clean up the aftermath of the disaster.

In compliance with ruling bishops' presentations, the Holy Synod decided to open three more convents in churches and buildings that were returned to the church by the State. The convents will re-open in Voronezh and the village of Vvedeniye in Ivanovo region. The Epiphany convent will meet nuns in Kostroma.

The number of parishes is constantly growing and the Holy Synod decided to institute new eparchies. The Olonets Eparchy is restored in Russia's north. In addition to the Novosibirsk Eparchy, there will be another eparchy in Siberia—the Krasnoyarsk Eparchy.

New parishes, churches and cloisters need clergymen and the new Moscow Eparchy Theological School in Kolomna will train them. The Stavropol Eparchy Theological School is reformed into a theological seminary.

Economic

Need To Exchange Managers With West Emphasized

PM2507131390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 90

[Report by Sergey Slipchenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The logical question is: Will the Soviet entrepreneurs now emerging find any original solutions to administrative and organizational problems?

[Slipchenko] How much do Soviet computer programmers earn at an ordinary scientific institution or research body?

[A.N. Gurskiy, programmer at the "Eleks" Association] Probably R300-400 at best.

[Slipchenko] And how is the work of people of this standard assessed in the West?

[Gurskiy] Well, for instance, the magazine PC WORLD talks about pay on the order of $3,000 a month.

[Slipchenko] Are there people in your professional circle who in the past few years have left to work permanently in the West?

[Gurskiy] Unfortunately there are. They have now reached a very high level, I believe. And, of course, it's a great pity that this sort of thing has been happening.

[Slipchenko] [video shows "Eleks" promotional material] The brain drain is a most terrifying, unlimited, and unnecessary export. How can we halt the process? Prohibitive and uncivilized measures are virtually impossible nowadays. The 3,000 staffers at the "Eleks" Soviet Joint-Stock Association work at 74 enterprises around the country. And their work is properly remunerated. This gives them a material interest. But today we need original measures.

[I.Z. Karas, general director of the "Eleks" Association] There is an influx of talent into the USSR. For instance, a large group of graduates from a top Norwegian business school is currently touring the USSR along with a few graduates from a top Danish business school who are interested in working in the USSR—with a Soviet firm. So it should be a two-way process. And there should be an influx of talent as well.

[Slipchenko] These are people from the developed countries of Europe and Asia. They are preparing to tour the USSR.

Does this mean that people from Norway will be working at Nizhniy Tagil, Sverdlovsk, or at some metallurgical combines or scientific centers?

[Karas] Absolutely. And not just people from Norway—people from any country. We have to create conditions in which foreign specialists will want to work here. They will be bridges between foreign and Soviet companies. They should know about living conditions in the USSR; they should work here. Our specialists will work abroad, and then it really will be a joint business venture. We want to do precisely that. And we are training people to live in the USSR and to live in Tagil, Sverdlovsk, Karaganda, Sakhalin, and so on. That is precisely what we are doing.

[Slipchenko] In the old building, where the meeting with the businessmen was held, we saw this statuette. We would very much like our way of life not to resemble this work of art. Otherwise, who will want to work with such civilized technology in the future?

UN Official on Lack of Soviet Competitiveness

90UF0350A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 20 Jul 90 p 3

[Article by V. Makarchev: "How To Avoid Bankruptcy"]

[Text] Geneva, 19 July (TASS)—The authority of Soviet enterprises is declining in the West, declared the deputy director of the division of analysis of the UN European Economic Commission, Klaus Veach. This began in April of this year when several large Soviet plants and organizations missed their deadlines for paying interest on foreign loans. The lack of financial discipline of certain enterprises today is dealing a blow to all producers in the USSR since the leaders of the world banks are forming the opinion that work on the Soviet market is becoming increasingly risky. This could have the most unfavorable consequences for the USSR economy: Corresponding to the increased financial risk there will be a rise in interest on credit granted both to Soviet enterprises and to firms cooperating with the USSR.

In my opinion, K. Veach continued, today Soviet enterprises must increase their economic expertise to get a better idea of their export-import possibilities. In any case we should take most seriously purchases of equipment abroad. This technical equipment must operate and produce a profit. We should also increase our responsibility for the fulfillment of contracts and agreements. At the present time the report of the commission on the state of affairs in the economies of the countries of Eastern Europe, which was published this month, contains advice to the banks of the West to study their Soviet partners more carefully before setting about financing trade agreements.

The entry of Soviet enterprises directly into the world market should be accompanied by an in-depth analysis of the overall economic situation by the leadership and labor collectives. The confusion on the domestic market about which goods to produce for the domestic market and which for export and which technology to order from the West has led in recent years to a wave of mass purchases of equipment which, however, has not contributed either to a sharp increase in labor productivity or to the expected significant expansion of exports. Thus, according to predictions of the commission, this year the USSR foreign trade deficit with developed countries of the West could amount to $16 billion. Speaking in the language of financial experts, by the end of the year many USSR enterprises could be on the verge of bankruptcy, K. Veach emphasized.

But it would be wrong to accuse only the enterprise leaders for the immense indebtedness that has accumulated. One of the main causes of the present situation is the deformation of the price structure. The USSR economic system, which is based on arbitrarily established prices which do not reflect the true production expenditures, does not make it possible either to correctly control the national economy as a whole or to successfully manage each individual branch, the deputy director of the analytical division of the UN European Economic Commission thinks. This is why price reform should lie at the basis of all real economic reforms of the Soviet economy. With the price reform it is necessary to introduce a convertible ruble so that Soviet enterprises will have broad possibilities of really engaging in world trade. And the culmination of this process could be the entry of the Soviet Union into such international organizations that engage in regulating the world economy as the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, the International Currency Fund, and the World Bank.

If the reforms proceed on a healthy basis, trade between the USSR and the West will have good prospects for rapid and mutually advantageous development, K. Veach noted in conclusion.

Timber-Faced Ice Pier Employed at Arctic Port

PM2507140790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 23 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] In the Mys Shmidta Arctic Port a unique ice pier is being used for the fifth consecutive navigation period. The flanks of the pier are faced with timber and the surface is covered with gravel. This is to

slow the inevitable thawing and deformation. This type of pier is ten times cheaper than conventional concrete piers and pays for itself completely within one short navigation period.

Workers' Concerns Aired at PRAVDA Meeting

904F0196A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jun 90 Second Edition pp 5-6

[Report by Yu. Medvedev and S. Pastukhov of workers' discussion hosted by the PRAVDA Editorial Board and led by I. Frolov, CPSU Central Committee secretary and editor in chief of PRAVDA: "Your Opinion, Comrade Workers..."]

[Text] **Meetings concerning the urgent problems of perestroyka, renewal of the party, and the life of our society took place at the editorial board of PRAVDA on the threshold of the 28th CPSU Congress.**

Today we will talk about the meeting of workers, which was organized by the editorial board and the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions].

Taking part in the conversation were: V. Abashkin, steel founder at the "Elektrostal" Production Association (Moscow Oblast); A. Atalikov, tool-maker at the Nalchik factory for semiconductor instruments of the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]; R. Bektrumov, electrician at the Talby-Kurgan factory for large-panel home construction (Kazakhstan); A. Burdeynyy, team leader for spinners at the Fryanovo worsted spinning factory (Moscow Oblast); V. Gavrilov, milling machine operator of the Leningrad "Krasnyy Oktyabr" Production Association; G. Kobyakova, heat treatment supervisor at the Leningrad "Salyut" Sewing Association; N. Kopylova, master of the Voronezh "Electrosignal" factory; A. Monastyrskiy, electrician at the Volgograd steel wire and cable factory; S. Musayev, team leader of a plant team of foundry workers at the factory of oil machine construction imeni Petr Montin (Azerbaijan); A. Nazarov, milling machine operator of the "Uralmash" Production Association (Sverdlovsk); V. Pastukhov, excavator operator at an open-pit coal mine (Kuzbass); N. Pastukhov, excavator operator at the "Yakutugol" Production Association; V. Plochinda, miner at the "Krasnodonugol" Production Association (Donbass); N. Potsepkina, weaver at the Drezna cotton factory (Moscow Oblast); F. Prokopenko, senior operator of a rolling mill in sheet-rolling shop No. 2 of the Novolipetsk metallurgical plant; V. Radkevich, electrician at the "Ukrzapadugol" Production Association (Lvov Oblast); Ye. Renzhiglo, miner at the "Izvestnyy" mine (Donbass anthracite); A. Repeyko, milling machine operator of the Kharkov Production Association imeni Malyshev; A. Rudenko, miner at the "Luganskugol" Production Association; V. Sveshnikov, team leader for spinners at the "Trexgorka" factory (Moscow); F. Shukletsova, furrier-cutter at the "Squirrel" factory (Kirov Oblast); V. Yarygin, lathe operator at the "Elektrostaltyazhmash" (Moscow Oblast); and Ye. Gaydar and O. Losoto, PRAVDA editors for the departments of economic policy and social policy.

The conversation was led by I. Frolov, CPSU Central Committee secretary and chief editor of PRAVDA.

[Frolov] Comrades, I am glad that we are meeting together today. We attach great significance to a meeting with representatives of our working class. On the threshold of the 28th congress we wish to put several questions before you which, of course, will not keep you from asking any of your own questions. I only mention a few of them in order to orient you for the forthcoming conversation and ask you to discuss them in a casual, free discussion.

We know that there are few workers among the delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress. In your opinion, why did this happen and how do you feel about it—what conclusions have you drawn? The party's Central Committee immediately gave the problem its attention and corrected it to some extent, but the system of elections itself excludes any purposeful, far-reaching answer. There was a proposal to invite to the congress a sufficiently representative group of workers and peasants as guests, having elected them directly at the production associations. Or even better—in view of a shortage of time—to form that group from those workers and peasants who were nominated as candidates to the congress but did not collect the necessary number of votes. In the future the congress will be empowered to raise and resolve the question of allotting all the rights of delegates to these invited comrades.

I have a very serious question: Who is with the party? It was created as a Russian Social Democratic Workers' party. Who, in your opinion, does it depend on, and will the workers consider it their own? Will they consider PRAVDA their newspaper? We preserved reprints of the first issue of PRAVDA, and we will show them to you now. Take a look at the subtitle—"Daily Workers' Paper." We are currently trying to give more space to the speeches of workers in the "Discussion Pages" and on other pages of PRAVDA. And often we are fairly successful. But apparently this still is not enough, and that means that we must intensify our efforts to give the newspaper a more clearly worker's coloring.

Now the question of the party's departure from the enterprises is being discussed widely. They say that in a multiparty system one should not maintain the local organizations of the CPSU and their administrative organs in the labor collectives. They say that a purely territorial structure is needed for the party. What is your opinion of this, comrades?

Or, let us say, the question is being raised of a tremendous reduction in membership dues—to two and even one percent. The preliminary accounts show that this will substantially reduce the party's budget, which is composed of approximately a billion rubles from party dues and a billion from party enterprises, including the newspaper PRAVDA and the printing house of the same name.

We propose to restructure the newspaper in order to make it an independent, self-financing association, which will permit it to send more to the party's funds...

The country's economics are in a crisis situation. The strikes which are taking place here are a reaction to the crisis and, at the same time, are a serious factor worsening it. Tell us, please, what the party's attitude toward strikes and strike committees should be. How should the party conduct itself in order to preserve and strengthen its influence among the masses?

Miners from different regions are present here among the guests. This question is for them most of all. It is perfectly clear that the former stereotypical reactions to new movements are not suitable. And conflicts take place most often in places where party and soviet organs try to react in the old fashion to whatever arises among the workers. They often just hang some sort of label on the movement or protest, and vitally important questions are not resolved.

We see only one side of the strikes: the economic side. But political demands are appearing as well. How should the Communist Party react to this? And if you consider that other parties will be appearing in our country as well, what will happen then?

Here is a specific question: What is your opinion of the United Workers Front, the Confederation of Labor, and other newly created organizations of that type? Do they reflect the opinion of the broad working masses? Or further, what is your opinion of the leasing and purchase of industrial enterprises by labor collectives?...

In general there are many questions for us all today, but let us agree that as we discuss them we will talk openly so that there is clarity and accuracy.

[N. Pastukhov] You spoke well when you said that there should be clarity and accuracy. We have a request with regard to this. Do you remember our meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on 2 February 1990? We also met with you at that time, and three of us are present today. When we read the account afterward in the 5 February PRAVDA, please excuse us, but we were, to put it lightly, bewildered. Everything had been smoothed over to a considerable extent there, and some things had been changed entirely. God forbid that this "roundtable" should also receive the same treatment. That account simply compromised the newspaper in the eyes of the miners.

[Rejoinder] That was the TASS account.

[N. Pastukhov] But in the newspaper PRAVDA?...

[Frolov] The account of today's meeting will be prepared by employees of PRAVDA. They will set forth our conversation just as it takes place. If anyone has doubts, then perhaps he could review the article ahead of time as it is prepared for the press.

[Musayev] I would like to recall some very good words which Vladimir Ilich said. He said that the party is the mind, honor, and conscience of our epoch. And I would like it if we could be guided by that precept and if our words could be real and not just slogans. And in many ways that depends on the renewal of our party and, in particular, on its upper echelons becoming closer to the people and to the rank-and-file communists. I would like it very much if the leaders of our party were to meet with people more often, to come down to us, and perhaps even to account to the local party organizations.

[Kopylova] It makes me very ill when there are attacks on the party. They say that if a person has a party card then he is a communist and a bad person, and they criticize him. But that is far from always the case. We must criticize only those communists who have discredited the party, and not the reverse.

[Frolov] Nina Vasilyevna, I support you with regard to communists and those who only carry party cards and are not communists. However, I do not think that some kind of party purge should be carried out as was done before. Those who do not agree with the party's course can quit it themselves. The party will become smaller in number, perhaps, but at the same time it will be more efficient and militant...

[N. Pastukhov] But why are so few workers delegated to the 28th congress? Because there is persecution of rank-and-file communists. I say this as a result of my own experience. As a candidate for people's deputy of Russia, I had 20 opponents, 18 of whom were so-called apparatchiks. It is very difficult to get through such a forest. The same thing also happened to me in the elections to the party congress. And it is the same way across the entire Union, independent of region, republic, etc.

Now some people say that there are three currents in the party: reformers, conservatives, and radicals. But the most important and, in my opinion, the most dangerous party is that one which is inside the party. This internal party begins with the raykoms [rayon party committees] and goes right up to the Politburo itself. Perhaps I am wrong, but I believe that unless we get rid of it, the situation in the country will worsen.

[Prokopenko] I am a non-party man, but I always considered myself a member of the party and helped the party. I was once asked why I did not join the party. At that time I said that I did not wish to be among such people, who are often unworthy of being members. I believe then and I believe now that honest, conscientious, respectable people with high ideals should be in the party. But now there are many crooks in it and, if I had my way, I would carry out a purge and only leave maybe 50 percent in it, but it would be those communists who deserve the name. There should not be very many people in the party. And it really should be the people.

It is good that we now have glasnost and that thanks to the government, the Central Committee, and Mikhail

Sergeyevich there is a stable international situation. Everything is good, but the bottom line is that the common worker has not seen even one gram of improvement in his standard of living in all the years of perestroyka. About 90 percent of the people do not understand why it has happened that way, and our government and the party leadership cannot answer this question. And so we rush from one side to the other.

Why did they raise my wages, those of a common worker, by seven percent, and those of the apparatchiks by 30 percent? Somewhere they dug up the funds for themselves. But for us? I read the newspaper, and for me PRAVDA is the cleanest truth—or was. I always believed our government and the party until the Chernobyl catastrophe took place and the party and government hid the whole truth about it from the working man and from its people. People were living there, poisoning themselves; our children ate and breathed who knows what' and the party stayed silent. Who answered for that? Who can we ask about it?

At work I made defective goods—I am answering for it. But the party workers? They make a mistake—give them a promotion? The party worker should answer for his work like everyone else. They are not accountable.

The question about elections. They say that few workers are elected as deputies and delegates. Why? Well, they say, bakers bake and metalworkers work metal. But this is wrong. Among the workers there are very many literate people who could represent the interests of the workers better than that same party apparat. But the apparatchiks try not to allow such a worker to have power, especially a progressive worker. No, a working man should be represented in the organs of power by a working man. No one knows the interests of the working class as closely as the worker himself.

If the party wishes to genuinely be a communist party in the eyes of the workers, it must descend from the heavens to the people and be with the people.

Why do I get ready two hours before work begins? Because there is no transportation. I am sure that if that comrade who administers and leads us was standing with me in line at the bus stop, if the buttons fell off his coat once or twice, and if he were late for work once or twice, then his nerves would fray and he would begin doing something about it. Right now he does not understand me very well, and he must understand me. For that he must travel with me to work, walk to the same store with me, and be doctored alongside me.

[Repeyko] It is no news that the party has gone underground. Our local party organizations do not solve anything for us—they just collect dues. And no one knows where these dues go; as a result the communists do not wish to pay them and end up handing in their party cards. In my opinion all rights should be with the local organizations. And the structure of the party should be changed. There should not be raykoms, gorkoms [city party committees], or even party committees. Instead of the party committees there should be soviets of secretaries. All questions should be decided by the local organizations, and these decisions should be in the defense of the working class and the laborers.

[Monastyrskiy] I have been working for 20 years, and I have never had a thought about whether or not to be in the party. I grew up in a working family, and my father was a communist. There were attacks on the party and dissatisfaction with the party before now as well. But then it was somehow easy to defend our ideals. Objective reasons could be found. But now they cannot be found.

I was a delegate to the 27th party congress. It was an inspired congress. I thought we would move mountains, but nothing happened. Who is guilty? What have we, the workers, done wrong? We worked just like they told us to. We fulfilled the plans, and there are no results. The basis of our party is democratic centralism. We all have it in our blood. But life has shown that we have five percent democracy and 95 percent centralism. In any case, our party is a party of like-minded people. And now at that difficult moment when the party apparat has raised its wages, I should continue to defend "communist ideals"? No, I cannot.

[N. Pastukhov] Excuse me, but over the last 70 years we have not created bases or schools for educating professional politicians. The structure of party administration even today permits an elite to develop within the party. But let us be candid—this is totalitarianism, this is secrecy from the people, and they have become completely obsolete. Let us also speak openly about the party's finances. This is indeed a great secret for me personally and for all the people. If it were possible to dish out R500 million to pensioners on a one-time basis, then I think the "internal party" has a great amount of money and it is going to keep itself afloat only at the expense of capital. The strictest centralism that exists must be removed. And the communists themselves should decide what the structure should be at the local level. They should also decide how much to pay and to whom it should be paid. We ourselves will evaluate the work of this or that comrade.

[Radkevich] The party is no longer at the helm in Lvov Oblast. The Democratic Bloc, which won the elections to the local soviets, is in charge. It prepared itself splendidly, did everything splendidly, and won. They say that the authority of the party is falling. In the western Ukraine it is falling catastrophically. People are leaving the party, especially after the wages of the party apparat were raised. People have seen where their party dues are going, especially the miners. Our dues are very large—three percent! If you take them from R700 per month, imagine what kind of sum is being received. And if you go on vacation or receive a work bonus, it turns out that you have to hand over another R60. I myself have not been paying dues for four months because when we demanded the resignation of the gorkom's first secretary and he left, they slipped the head of the militia into his spot without having asked the rank-and-file communists.

And it was by his order that they broke up a demonstration in our city that people attended with Ukrainian flags. And now he is at the head of the city party organization?!

Why are there so many administrators at the congress? It is understandable. For instance, our collective nominated the director of the mine because he is always with the people and listens to each worker and helps him... Even when we had a trade union conference after the strike, he stood on the side of the workers—the only mine director to do so so. This is why he has respect and trust.

What is the party's attitude toward strikes? We saw what it was when there was a strike. The party apparat obstructed us and tried to hush up and crush everything. There was no help until the apparatchiks saw that things were going well for the strikers and that it was necessary to keep a low profile. As a result they lost the elections which took place after that.

And now the question about political demands. I, for example, believe that if we, the workers, only put forward purely economic demands then the people who make policy will laugh at us and we will achieve nothing. My attitude toward the people's fronts? Well, when the Democratic Bloc came to power in Lvov Oblast, let me tell you that many things changed: They closed up the special stores, special hospitals, all the "specials"...

And something else. In our country there are coal regions where there is very good quality coal. But at our association there is a lot of rock in the coal. And if we go over to cost accounting, we will have to reduce our miners by half. No one is going to buy this coal, which has an ash content of 45 percent. No one needs it. How will we live then?

[Rejoinder] Yes, the new soviets which have come to power have to prepare themselves ahead of time...

[Atalikov] I see nothing surprising in the fact that few workers are represented at the 28th party congress. The apparat is clinging to its privileges and is going to hold onto them with its teeth. It has very quickly and easily adapted itself and sent its own to the congress, and even those few workers who have become delegates will for the most part will be oriented specifically toward the camp of the apparat.

As for the party committees at enterprises, I believe that they do not belong there. I am thinking most of all of the party secretaries that have been released—a whole group of healthy young people whose place is on the production line, and they loaf about at our expense and lose their work skills after five or six years. The party structure should be constructed on a territorial basis, and more rights should be given to territorial party structures which understand the political situation at the local level better than here.

It also seems to me that the party should voluntarily repudiate staff privileges. All of the country's social organizations have become committees for the employment of party apparatchiks. Take for example the trade unions, the children's fund, the peace fund, take any organization—who is in the leading position? A person who has come from the party apparat. I do not wish to defame them all and say that they were all bad and that is why they were driven from the party apparat. There are some who fell out of favor precisely because there were in leading positions. But why should the party find employment for all its former apparatchiks?

My attitude toward strikes. I have thought much about this but I cannot give my opinion right now. Why not? Because even PRAVDA, which must have the greatest interest in ensuring that rank-and-file communists know the situation, has not reported what the miners are achieving and what their demands are. I have not read in a single central paper what their demands are. And how am I to judge the strike without knowing why it is happening? Although as a working man I deeply doubt that workers can be wrong. Left to himself, a worker is a patient man; but when he is driven to extremes, of course, anything might happen.

As for the associated fronts, I believe that the party should deal with each such front individually: There are different fronts. Some are conducting counterattacks, and others are calling for unity. As for leasing and the purchase of enterprises, there can be many nuances here. If we now permit the purchase of enterprises, then who can purchase the greatest number of shares? A worker? Never! That means that the ones who buy them are those who made a fortune by dishonest means and now have "unclean" money. Only they can now buy a large portion of the stocks and gradually become private property owners and take ownership of that enterprise. If we start up with market relations and inflation begins, then it will be hard for the worker to live and he will begin to sell his shares to the large private traders.

As for the RSDP [expansion unknown], I believe that this party should not call itself a workers' party until it is primarily composed specifically of representatives of the working class. No one has the right to speak in the name of the worker but a worker, not the intelligentsia which, although it is smart and knows much, does not know the needs of the workers, and certainly not our scholar-economists who say that they have studied everyone and everything but have not in the course of five years been able to propose a radical solution to the crisis situation which has arisen.

[Rejoinder-question] What do you think, Ivan Timofeyevich? Do we have classes in the Soviet Union?

[Frolov] I am convinced that we still have a class structure. But a significant change has taken place within the classes. For instance, the working class. Today it is very difficult to separate from the working class the technical intelligentsia and engineers who work directly

in production. In addition, the working class by itself contains not only highly qualified professional people but also people with specialized secondary and higher educations. I am aware of several types of production where only such workers can work.

The intelligentsia? This is also a complex concept. It cannot be defined as a class, although even this can be disputed. For example, there is the scientific intelligentsia which possesses (theoretically for the time being) intellectual property. Today not one type of modern production can get along without using science, and if the Academy of Sciences were to be transferred over to economic accountability or if it demanded that the state paid it for its work, there would not be enough money in the state budget. On the other hand, one often hears the reverse: They say that the working class and the peasantry is one thing and the intelligentsia is another. It is as though, the intelligentsia is split off from the people.

We often have the idea that the intelligentsia are always the children and grandchildren of the previous intelligentsia. But we should keep in mind that from its own environment the working class also creates an intelligentsia. How can we split off the intelligentsia from the working class, including the scholars who have come from among the workers? It turns out to be a very unnecessary contrast, and the main thing is that it is unnecessary for the workers themselves. The workers should maintain very close ties with the intelligentsia, and I would even say that there is a direct genetic tie in many instances.

[N. Pastukhov] I do not agree with you. Of course it is difficult for me, a worker, to argue with an academic. But in Iceland, I believe, a parliament has existed for more than a thousand years and there they do not acknowledge a class society. But I do not see a class society here. The intelligentsia was destroyed—you understand what I mean. The peasantry was destroyed. Only the working man remained, and he is poor in science and everything else. I see poverty, but I do not see classes. What am I leading up to? That the party now has the unique opportunity on the base of a classless society to regenerate itself. That is my point of view.

[Frolov] I do not agree with you, but I have expressed my point of view.

[Yarygin] I work at a factory—soon it will be 40 years. I began working under Stalin and now I am working under the country's president. Our factory is special—we build rolling mills and we make bearings which require a high degree of precision and great skill from the workers. But they, the workers, have been leaving us. I myself worked three shifts with the help of relief workers, but then they left and I began to work two shifts, then one and a half, and now I work one shift. Why are the workers fleeing the factory? Previously there was some kind of propaganda and it kept them there. Now they have quit doing even that. And they are right—what is there to propagandize? The fact that machine operators get 15 days vacation? Or that the machine operators get a pension when they are 60 years old? Almost none of us works to age 60. And no one has normal housing, and there are few food goods. But the power of the state rests on us, the machine operators.

In general, the prestige of the working class has fallen. Previously we took on obligations. I, for example, took it upon myself to fulfill two five-year plans in one—I did not sleep for whole nights, and I worked and thought about how to do it so that I would not be embarrassed in front of my comrades. And now the first-class workers have left the enterprise for the cooperatives or who knows where. I can understand those people—they wish to live better. And here I am, a two-time Hero of Socialist Labor, and I cannot buy a suit: None are being sold on the open market. Not one! My roll-out bed has broken—I cannot buy a new one...

A few words about the peasantry. Last year they put up a memorial bust to me in my home town in Tambov Oblast. I went there. My countrymen prepared for the occasion very well. They got everything ready as they should, and it was all done with great warmth. Everyone, from the smallest to the greatest, came for the ceremony. And I wanted to cry. But not from joy—from the poverty. How poorly my country people live. They walk 12 km to work in the fields—there are no cars. I stopped in at Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] and told them to give my countrymen just one car. They will not.

With such an attitude toward the worker and the peasant, how can we get out of the crisis and return authority to the party?

[Frolov] The stronger and more active the representatives of the working class and the peasantry are in the party—and this is what we are aiming at now—the more successfully, comrades, they will resolve the questions you are now raising. The more the working class is represented in the party, the stronger the party will be. I am convinced of this. But of course the party must represent the interests of the peasantry and the interests of the intelligentsia. These tasks must be resolved by the same party. Why would it be bad if, let us say, there were separate peasant and worker's parties? And the intelligentsia also had its own? Because each would be pulling the cart in its own direction. The party should express the interests of all layers of society. We need workers, militant, active workers, to have greater representation in the Central Committee and in its higher organs, whether it is the Politburo or the Presidium—the congress will decide. But there have to be workers there, like there are, let us say, on the Presidential Council.

[Bektrumov] In connection with this, one asks whether this means that we have abandoned the Leninist concept of building the party—that we do not have any ties with the working masses? Our comrades propose hearing the accounts of political leaders in the labor collectives—I agree with this. And the selection of personnel should be

conducted according not only to professional but also to moral qualities. In addition I would like to speak about the policy of democracy and glasnost. We have had it for five years now, and everybody is saying anything they want, and we still do not have public control over our own labor and wages in our collectives, and we do not know how they are controlled. For instance, we cannot organize distribution of items in short supply. Or, for example, what will happen when workers lease their own enterprises? What can we, the workers, buy from the state when we live from payday to payday? If the party takes this road, it should remember our empty pockets. Otherwise it will not be our party. Everything was created by the hands of the workers and engineers. By our hands. And all of it should belong to us—free of charge. Is that not true, Ivan Timofeyevich?

[Frolov] Please understand that this is not a seminar and I am not a professor whom you ask and from whom you wish to receive a full answer. I would only like to say one thing to those of your comrades who are leaving the party today: Please explain why you are in such a hurry, boys. Today there really is a chance that the workers can seize power in their hands and create a party that is new in its essence. But it is easier to simply wash your hands of it and leave.

[Bektrumov] We are talking about the fact that in essence there must be a new party. It is going to implement these things. You hardly get involved because of a single change. We have to work...

[Rejoinder] Right. In this context we should not just speak a lot of words, but must do more.

[Bektrumov] The question was raised here about whether the Communist Party should repudiate its leading role so that it would be equal with other public organizations. Why not carry on a dialogue—with the trade unions in particular and any other social organizations? Indeed, they represent the interests of some categories of people. And only through the expression of a common opinion and arrival at a single accord can future policy, including that of our party, be built.

[Frolov] I am personally 100 percent in agreement with you. This is the main thing that you need to work on. Today we prompt you to do this. There is an opportunity for it and for a fundamental transformation of the party—and for the resolution of these problems we are talking about. But it is all in your hands. And it is no accident that we are conducting this conversation before the congress. The congress will not resolve all the problems. But if we pose the problems, it can be an impetus for their resolution. But who will work on it? Indeed, the apparat is literally clinging to the old. Whoever gets in the way must leave.

[Renzhiglo] Our conversation began gradually and timidly. Now it has heated up. I want to talk about trusting one another and about emotions and ambitions. You know about Comrade Gorbachev's meeting with the miners on the eve of the February Central Committee plenum. You were among those present. I attended too. However heated the conversation became, whatever we talked about, the meeting nonetheless showed that a common miner and the general secretary could come to agreement. We talked about trusting one another and about the fact that strikes and extraneous emotions could be avoided. But basically that is where it all ended. Now I want to talk once more about these emotions and about instances of them. Today we must not all fall upon one another. You know about the congress of miners in Donetsk. Some said that M. Gorbachev should attend Donetsk. They said, "We demand it." Is this a human thing to do or is this ambition speaking? It is ambition! The government requested that the congress be conducted on 15 August, and then the president, the prime minister, and the ministers would be there. All the questions concerning the 608th Decree of the Council of Ministers would be examined. That was agreed upon at the 15th Congress of Trade Unions. Nonetheless ambitions won out; they fought over the leading positions, and it led to a split in the trade unions. There was no one to report on the 608th Decree, and there also was no one to talk about the market economy. They say we should make independent trade unions composed only of miners and then all the troubles will be solved. But would it not be better for the miners' leaders, our government, and the leaders of the trade union movement to sit down at a "roundtable" and resolve urgent questions and come out with proposals for the parliament? And if they now create a new trade union and the "higher-ups" share the positions among themselves, it does not mean that everything is going to change. The newly created trade union will have no more rights than the old Central Council of Trade Unions.

We have spent eight months in Moscow putting our foot in the doors of Kremlin offices, but the supply of materials and equipment to the mines has not improved. It has become even worse because the mechanism of our mutual economic relations is at fault. It needs to be corrected via the country's parliament.

And a last question—why are there few workers in high positions? The working movement is becoming broader quickly and new leaders are being put forward. But they do not go anywhere. A former miner or worker cannot become an inveterate apparatchik. The main thing is for the apparatchik to carry out our demands and, when he is at the party congress, to warrant the trust of those who elected him.

[Gavrilov] Why are there so few delegates at the 28th congress from among the workers? I believe the reason is that before the elections of delegates it became popular to create all kinds of platforms. Not every worker has the ability to do this, and he does not know how to speak pretty words. The Russian worker is good, concerned, and conscientious. And this is precisely the reason that the majority of them did not end up at the congress. I believe that the proposal to invite such people to the congress is a good one. Both the worker and the whole party will win from this.

There have been many arguments about whether the party should leave the enterprises. I believe that the communists should be in enterprises. Not so very long ago the secretaries of the party organizations came to the collectives during working hours and asked about our difficulties and concerns literally right at the lathes. Now you do not see that. And the result is an outflow of workers from the party. Try to go to the raykom. You have to sign up and then wait a week or two to get there, and the workers need their problems solved today. If there are no party committees at the factories, the connection with the party will become worse yet.

As for the CPSU Central Committee Platform, it is not entirely understandable to a worker. It was written by people who are "a little too" intelligent, and it is difficult to read. I would like to see it shorter and more specific.

I read in it that the party is repudiating illegal privileges. If it is talking about rank-and-file communists, then what sort of privileges do they have? Just one: to work. And if there are illegal privileges, then those who possess them should be sternly punished in accordance with the law and the rules.

Concerning the market economy. The country is not prepared for it. No sooner did Ryzhkov finish his speech than everyone piled into the stores. There was almost a panic. No one has thought about the psychology of the people. It might even be worse. I often hear that the government has some kind of mechanism for making us all richer. What kind of a mechanism is that? I do not understand. First they tell us about this mechanism, then they come out with a proposal about a market economy.

[V. Pastukhov] About the situation in the Kuzbass. It is very serious. I will note that the shortage of goods is having a terrible effect on the people. Meetings do not help. Incidentally, everyone has quit going to them for the most part, even to the party meetings. And as a result we get mob democracy.

People ask us questions about this. We cannot give them intelligible answers. Our fund of trust is running out. The settlement soviet, of which I was elected chairman, has been working without a break for almost a year. We have done much. But people say, "You have been to Moscow, and you do not get anything." But we know what we are going up against in the capital. Those issues which might well have been resolved locally have to be stamped at the "center." And, unfortunately, often without results. In our city of Belovo the gorkom is paralyzed. The second secretary has retired and gone to the mine. There is mass resignation from the party. There is distrust in its effectiveness. You cannot close your eyes to that.

By the conversations among the people one can suppose that there will be a big fight at the 28th congress. Although we elected them, it was the leaders who ended up for the most part as delegates. By that I do not mean to say that they are unworthy. The problem is that the leaders, especially the practical ones, have now fallen between the hammer and the anvil. They cannot make a brave decision—they are afraid. It began when they said to rank-and-file workers, "You begin perestroyka from below, and we will begin it from above." The whole thing averaged out and we fell into a trap. The result: local production fell.

[Kopylova] I would like to speak about the sciences. I particularly like any science which helps us create the goods for daily life. I have been in production for almost 40 years. I began as a worker; I am now a foreman. And I have never denigrated the role of the worker and I do not allow anyone else to denigrate it, whoever she may be. Look at the conditions the workers toil in—and we call them the country's gold fund. If science were closer to the worker, everything would be much better for us and people would be more self-possessed and literate. They would be, let us say, more intelligent. I have seen that it is like that abroad. But at our enterprises—I am speaking about the women—in the absence of mechanization and automation they simply wear themselves out. A woman arrives home like a squeezed lemon. And if she is a mother and a wife, the most important thing is that she is still a person. Men, do not be offended, but the most difficult profession in our country is to be a woman. They write little about us and about workers in general in the newspapers. In the press you almost never read about labor productivity, the quality of production, and in general about the authority of the worker. Everyone has thrown himself into politics. To all appearances we have wished for freedom of speech for a long time. But now everything has gotten so mixed up that we only talk and in the majority of circumstances we do not even listen to what we are saying.

Should the party be at the enterprise? These days there are many proposals about a multiparty system. I believe that only one party is necessary. I do not know what it will be called. Many leaders have appeared. And each of them says, "I am a defender of the working class." Well, then, go to it and defend us. If they all want the people to live better and more peacefully and want us to see where we are going, let the leaders gather at a "roundtable" and hammer together a single party and some business in common. Let them elect a "chief." And they can submit proposals for the discussion of the people. And it seems to me that the people would not suffer a bit from this. Today there is nothing like it. We have a whole heap of chairmen of parties, leaders of councils and committees, all their deputies, and associates of all ranks. And all wish to "get" privileges. But who is going to "give" to the people and help them in the end to organize their labor well?

[Sveshnikov] The previous speaker spoke well. I listened to her and came to the following conclusion: In general, all of our problems are the same. It is all the same to us workers who makes the decision—councils, the party, or some other organizations—but we need to turn our attention to the working class. There is less provision made for it than for any of them. As proof of my words I say that some spinners work in three shifts, as a rule on a tight equipment budget. A woman spins as though she

has been wound up. And she receives R250—well, R300. It is no easier in other fields. We have a huge consumer services establishment: nurseries, kindergartens, preventive clinics, and a Palace of Culture. We spend large sums on housing. But we cannot retain the people. It would seem that we live well in comparison with other enterprises. Then what is the matter? The problem is that people want to live better today.

Now they are talking about a market economy. Well, it already exists, comrades. For example, chemists are asking high prices. The price of oil has increased. But they do not pay textile workers any more than before. Tell me, what will we live on? How are people going to live?

I believe that our government needs to think about the fate of the enterprises. Perhaps they will give some people privileges—agriculture, let us suppose, which is falling apart—but let me tell you that the textile industry is also falling apart. A comrade from Leningrad says the same thing.

[Potsepkina] The person who spoke before me was a textile worker. I approve of his speech. One of our most important problems is the young cadres. Every year our factory needs 200 new workers. Sometimes we only get half that amount. The young people cannot be held more than a year. So what is the problem? The main one is that there are neither good wages nor good equipment. As a rule the young people do not show up for the night shift. The result is idle machines, and production falls. To the credit of the collective, the factory still works well. We fulfill the plan—true, not at 120 percent as we might, but at 102 percent. Another problem is that deductions for the state budget are very great. And now there are new taxes... And it turns out that the enterprise is left with a miserly portion. And with this money we have to interest people in the wages and build housing. How? I do not know. I ask that you publish my words without fail.

Our problems are the problems of the entire sector. There is not enough good raw material: There is no source of raw materials. I do not know when we will get one and how much it will cost. As a result we cannot conclude agreements with other enterprises. I cannot guarantee the orders will be fulfilled on time. The textile and light industries, and the press as well, have not been getting enough attention from the government. And there is one more thing I will talk about. There is little housing at the enterprise. But we cannot build—our deductions are large. And whereas the waiting list for housing was once about 400 people, it is now about 800. And whereas we used to wait for the graduation at our professional and technical school like a holiday—up to 50 people at a time came out—now only 11 have finished. The future of our sector does not look good.

[Shukletsova] We workers evaluate the honor, wisdom, and conscience of the epoch—that is to say the party—by its specific deeds at the specific work sections, for instance, at our Lenin Order fur factory "Belka." Today it is in an extremely difficult situation with regard to the supply of raw materials. The suppliers of raw skins from Armenia and Kuybyshev and Saratov Oblasts have refused to conclude an agreement with us for additional orders, and as a result we are only being supplied with raw skins at 60 percent of volume. Deliveries of raw materials have been reduced practically along the entire processing line: mink, blue fox, red fox, raccoon, and squirrel; and the Chimkent factory has stopped deliveries of raw astrakhan hides altogether. Before we could at least complain to the local party organs. But now?

In order to preserve a high number of workers in fur production, for which the skills are only gained through many years of practical experience, the enterprise must search for raw materials in all the corners of the Union and buy it at treaty prices—two or three times higher than the price lists. In this fashion, the plan for the current year by volume of goods production in kind has turned out to be lower than last year's. As a result of the reduction in volume, profits and deductions into the fund for economic stimulation have decreased correspondingly. But funds are needed to update production (in 1993 the enterprise will celebrate its 100th anniversary), to carry out the housing program, to develop the social sphere, and to raise the workers' standard of living.

[Kobyakova] On the other hand, I would like to share a good experience of perestroyka. Our Leningrad sewing association, "Salyut", was formed in 1986. It is made up of the Leningrad "Komsomolka" sewing factory—the leading enterprise—and three branches: Leningrad sewing factory No. 5 and the Sestroretsk and Pavlovsk branches. The association specializes in the production of goods for children (jackets, suits, dresses, pants, and shirts for boys). Each year 5 million pieces of children's goods are produced for a total of R55 million at retail prices.

The enterprises are working stably. For the first quarter we fulfilled all the basic technical and economic indicators, and the state order for production of goods for children was realized for all positions. Of the goods produced, 97.7 percent were first quality. Over the first quarter 12,000 square meters of cloth and 7,200 kilowatt-hours of electricity were saved.

Working under the second model of cost accounting allowed us to raise wages—on the average by R50 or more. In the beginning of 1990 we put into operation a professional and technical school with a dormitory, a sports hall, and a kitchen. The school has places for 720 workers and the dormitory for 360 people. We are undergoing technical retooling with the participation of foreign firms. Electrical and hydraulic equipment is being installed. As a result we plan to increase the production of children's goods by 400,000 pieces.

A number of privileges for the workers were introduced with the goal of retaining personnel. We have introduced a vacation bonus determined by a factor of from 0.4 to

1.1 of the monthly wage or salary, depending on length of service. Free tickets for the city transportation are handed out. Long-term conscientious labor workers at the enterprise are awarded valuable gifts or financial rewards of R100 to R200. Free meals for the evening shift have been introduced. And starting in 1990 we will be paying a one-time award to working pensioners in the amount of five or more pay periods or salaries.

I am enumerating all this, first, in order to be "specific." If something is good, then it should not be hidden. And second, to say that our "concrete successes" did not come about by themselves but with the help of our party organization. This should also not be forgotten.

[Nazarov] Thank you very much for inviting us to the "roundtable." Of course it would have been better to do this a little earlier. There is not much time before the congress and there are many unresolved problems.

[Frolov] Out of everything that is said today, the person to speak last will be best remembered...

[Nazarov] My personal opinion is that there will most likely be a split or a breakaway at the congress. But I believe that the party loyal to the CPSU Central Committee Platform will retain its position and remain the most influential. At the same time I believe that they need to approve a concrete plan at the congress for improving the welfare of the Soviet people; then they must be persistent about implementing it. Renewal of the party Central Committee must not be partial but full. This will raise the authority of the party. A cleansing of the party is under way. The careerists and the dissatisfied are leaving. Unfortunately, honest workers and those who have been in the party for dozens of years are also leaving.

In Sverdlovsk they are conducting a poll about trust in the party and the government. In December of last year, 82-83 percent expressed trust in the party and the government. In May of this year, it was only 47 percent. The authority of the party and the government is falling. But the greater sorrow for me is what is happening at the congresses of people's deputies when they forget the worker or do not allow him to speak, or when few of them make it into the elective organs. I think that the congress will put everything in its proper place.

[Plochinda] I wish to say that at this moment it is not the party but, more probably, its leading organs which have turned from the people. At what level? They have stopped taking counsel from them and helping them. That is one thing. When we were at the 2 February meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich, a question was asked about the participation of miners at the upcoming plenum. Mikhail Sergeyevich said that they would find 10 places for us. However they only picked out five communists. They got rid of the five non-party people. This example speaks of their attitude toward us.

As for strikes, the Kuzbass had already been striking for 10 days when the party organs—from the raykoms to the general secretary—gave it their attention. And if he had only come out with an appeal to the miners and the people and explained why we are in a crisis, it is possible that there would not have been work stoppages. Why? Because at the local level the party workers were simply cheating us. They said that they had already reviewed our demands and sent them to the general secretary and the government. After several days there still was not a single word in the newspapers or on the radio or television about the details of our requests. Having created strike committees, the miners demanded that they be legalized. But the party organs, apparently feeling the competition for influence over the masses, began to pressure us in every possible way. Several presses began to print all sorts of articles for their readers saying that the miners are trying to pad their nest. For 10 months the life of the miners did not improve. Hundreds of people died during this time. You know that literally a few days ago they buried 11 people in the Kuzbass. Today fatal accidents are still happening. We do not have enough lumber, metal supports, and equipment—which is ancient, incidentally. Today thousands and millions of tons of unexported coal are being burned. It seems that the country does not need it.

When we put forward our demands, we put social problems as the chief ones. We understand that the state does not have any money. We asked for permission to sell coal that had been mined above what was ordered so that we could buy equipment. They refused.

I agree with the comrade from the trade union that our party will split at this congress. At the congress all party organs, from the small to the large, should be replaced all at once; new, active men should be elected there in the name of the people. One cannot please everyone. Honest people see the situation and leave the party. And other party workers go to any length to hold onto their positions. They even "turn in" their own obkom [oblast party committee] and gorkom leaders so that they can take their places. In general I do not even understand what our obkom is doing now. I do not hear or see anything of them. The soviets have not yet come to power, and the party has lost power.

In our region one might say that there is anarchy. It is the most terrible thing that can happen. Perhaps people should be given the right to decide for themselves how to change the course of events. The miners are like penal battalions in the war—there is no turning back, and it is dangerous to go forward. There are practically no other enterprises in the Donbass other than the mines. The coal is of poor quality, but it is labor-intensive, costly to mine, and subsidized. If a market economy arrives, two-thirds of the basin will be unemployed and starving.

At the same time, the market economy is already functioning. Formerly they sold us a cubic meter of wood for R30; now they have raised the price to R57, and the suppliers will not conclude a contract with us for less. They tell us we can wait and that later we will be paying R70. Meanwhile a ton of coal costs R17.

[Rudenko] My colleague has talked about almost all of our needs. But I am a non-party man. And from the sidelines I hear what the workers are saying about the party. I have formed the opinion that the party has an apparat and taxpayers, or dues-payers. That is, the party is already split into an elite portion and the rest. That is my impression. And in this I see today's crisis of the party. The structure of the party is built along the vertical—a boss and subordinates. This is a problem. As our comrade has said, the party must be a union of like-minded people. The ways of the apparat and the people do not cross. They are on one plane and we are on another. Nothing worthwhile will happen until we are on the same plane. We must take away all of the apparat's privileges. And in the newspapers we read about and see photographs of those dachas which are supposed to be for party workers according to the system of privileges. While we flounder in our problems, our party functionaries relax in those dachas. This is why the people have become angry. I do not know how the party will get out of this situation.

Recently I was in the countryside. I talked with workers at the kolkhozes [collective farms]. There are not enough tractors and combines, although the country produces a great number of them. But the problem is that the machines are oriented toward gross output, not quality. They last a season and that is all. Some propose that our peasantry should lease the land. So, take the land and work it with a hoe or whatever you like. Kolkhozes disband because nothing is left but a hoe. It is all confusion. All this has to be seen from life, not from inside the Kremlin. You cannot visit the kolkhozes and farms on those official trips that the functionaries prepare. The government needs complete information on how the people live.

[Musayev] I want to say a couple more words. As a communist I believe that the party is undergoing a difficult time. But it will find the strength within itself to come out of the crisis. I believe there are many problems in the fact that the higher party organs allow themselves to give instructions to the Council of Ministers, the Supreme Soviet, the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions], and the Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League]. All of them should be given complete independence. Then it will be easier for the party, and they will not receive the blame for everything. Then we can make the government, the AUCCTU, and so on responsible for the fact that people live poorly today and that the economy is at an impasse. The apparat should come down and be closer to the rank-and-file communists and to the people.

[Burdeynyy] I support the preceding speakers, especially my colleagues in the textile industry. I will also dwell on the internal policy of the party for a bit. I say that there are great omissions. You see what is happening today in the Soviet Union—all around is dissension and strikes. Personally, I am against strikes and mass meetings. When a problem really is not resolved, one can go to extremes and strikes. But not to work for months? We demand that the stores be full, but we ourselves either do not work or work poorly. So where is everything to come from?

The cooperatives, as it was already said here, really are robbing the people. Enterprises must give everything to the leaseholder, who will build, produce, and make something with his own hands. But if the cooperative gets into the state store and empties it, how can one talk about an increase in goods? This question has been raised at the Supreme Soviet. However, everything has remained as it was before.

[N. Pastukhov] We told the boys that we would very much like to be at the 28th party congress, although as invited guests. But if the congress gives us the right to vote, you can be sure that we will not allow the party to be pulled down. We must preserve it.

About privileges: I believe that having a personal car is not a privilege. Each leader working in any sector must have transportation, because it is difficult without transportation. A chairman of the republic committee of the trade union may have 20 factories, and if he is going to visit them all using public transportation he will not get to them all in the next six months. The main point is not privileges. All members of the party in leadership positions must work so that 90 percent is for the people and 10 percent is for themselves. But frequently it is the opposite.

I will finish by saying that we must seek out the kind of people that were shown in the film "Communist." We have to seek them out. They can and should lead communists and non-party people. One more thing. Discipline has fallen off, and no one pays attention to it. They say that as we live, so we shall work. So, why has this happened? What are the reasons? Well, it is no secret that absenteeism and tardiness at production have increased and that the quality of our labor is low. And people's conduct on the street has become simply disgusting at times: hooliganism and an increase in crime. The congress must pay due attention to this question and tackle the matter more decisively. In conjunction with the people, we must bring about order, increase discipline, and raise the spirit of the people.

[Frolov] Thank you, comrades, for coming to this meeting. Thank you for your interesting conversation. We do indeed need the kind of congress which will shake all of us up, give us new forces, and call for a renewal—not only in the party but in all of society. I am completely in agreement with you in this. Little is being done in this direction. Much is weighing upon us in ideological and other senses. I believe that if we feel greater support from the working class we will come through this crisis situation with dignity. We still have difficulties to overcome. I believe that in the future we will consolidate our relations. Goodbye.

The pre-congress meeting of workers at PRAVDA lasted almost five hours. It is difficult to transfer fully the spoken word to paper. We have tried to bring the reader all that is

important and that concerns the workers. Once more, we thank our guests for their participation in this meeting with the editorial board.

Agriculture

Gas Shortage in Ukraine Hampers Harvesting

PM2607094990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by L. Ilchenko and V. Stepanenko]

[Text] [Announcer] The next item is on the Ukraine, too. It concerns an acute problem that the republic has been encountering this year. Grain has been harvested on more than one-third of the sown area there. The results of the harvest have been encouraging. Average yields have been around 35 quintals per hectare. But this is not the only thing that will determine the size of the harvest in the Ukraine and across the country.

[Reporter] [video shows harvest operations] It is a busy time. In literally a few days the harvest has moved from the republic's southern oblasts to its northern fields. The grain has ripened in the Chernigov Polessye. Wheat fields on Votukhin kolkhoz [collective farm] in Bobrovitskiy Rayon are yielding up to 50 quintals per hectare. Unfortunately, not everything depends on the grain farmers. All the people we have spoken to recently have given us a long list of grain farmers' grievances and difficulties: primarily, shortages or even a complete lack of gasoline. Combines are standing idle in the fields with their hoppers full of golden grain waiting to be unloaded. [video shows gas station and "No gas" sign; kolkhoz vehicles are lined up at gas stations wearily waiting for gas supplies to arrive]

[N.S. Kotenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR (Soviet Socialist Republic) State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products] As far as gasoline is concerned, the situation is terrible and there are holdups everywhere at the moment. These have been caused by the fact that the planned amount of gas stipulated by the plan, on the basis of which contracts are concluded between republics, is not being supplied. Currently, as regards supplies to the countryside, Russia has failed to supply us with something of the order of—actually, this is the exact figure—291,000 [units unspecified] over the past six months, and 75,000 over the past 20 days. And there are still no supplies.... Should the center manage this or should we enter into direct contracts with the republics?

Orenburg Vegetable Crops Suffer Weed Problems

PM2507130190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 22 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by S. Sergeyev and G. Kononov]

[Text] [Announcer] The first grain of the new harvest has arrived at Orenburg Oblast grain reception enterprises from Ilekskiy Rayon today. A good harvest has been grown in the oblast and agricultural workers are doing everything to ensure that it is gathered on time and without losses.

[Correspondent] The weather in the southern Urals resembles the tropics this summer. During the day the sun beats down and in the evening or during the night there is heavy rain. The grass that has grown is dense and succulent. But the weeds are also doing well. They are thriving not just in clearings and on roadsides but also on vegetable plantations, having spread through the plantations like wildfire. [video shows plantations overgrown with weeds, workers weeding]

So far hand weeding has been carried out on vegetable-growing farms only on half the plantations, and on a number of farms in the southern zone with which Magnitogorsk enterprises have concluded patronage contracts, weeds have been destroyed on only one-third of the plantations. Many major enterprises in Chelyabinsk, Zlatoust, Asha, Plast, Katav-Ivanovsk, and Verkhniy Ufaley are fulfilling their contract commitments very badly. Some 300 hectares of vegetable plantations are not tended at all. The oblast's industrial enterprises refuse to help agricultural workers tend early vegetables and bring in the harvest. This situation is not new. It repeats itself year after year.

[V.F. Panchenko, director of "Petrovskiy" sovkhoz (state farm)] We have concluded contracts with industrial enterprise to jointly grow vegetables. These contracts provide for mutual responsibility on the part of the sovkhoz and the industrial enterprise in question. However, the contracts are being implemented badly. Therefore our collective, for instance, is faced with the following dilemma: What are we to do, how are we to proceed next year—should we grow vegetables, or should we switch to crops which produce better returns? If we choose the latter, the cities may find themselves without vegetables.

[V.Ya. Kotegov, director of the oblast "Ovoschi" (Vegetable) Association] The machinery with which we are supplied is so poor and so badly made that we cannot cope with this work without assistance. Furthermore, the fertilizers with which we are supplied are impure and the weedkillers are of poor quality. If industry supplied us with good equipment, as is the case abroad, with good chemicals, weedkillers, and fertilizers, we would not have to appeal for the city dwellers' assistance.

Scientific

'Mir' Cosmonauts Prepare for Space Walk

PM2507132190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Preparations for Walk in Open Space"]

[Text] Flight Control Center, 24 Jul—The crew of the sixth main expedition of the Mir scientific research complex is continuing its flight.

Within the framework of the program of astrophysical experiments, two series of surveys of the celestial sphere have been carried out using the "Glazar" ultraviolet telescope. Measurements of X-ray, gamma, and neutron radiation of nonterrestrial origin are conducted regularly with the help of the "Buket" telescope and the "Granat" spectrometer installed on the "Kristall" module.

Experiments in the onboard "Svet" and "Svetoblok-M" hothouses are continuing under the space biology program in order to study the development of higher plants under orbital flight conditions. Radishes, lettuces, and wheat seedlings have been chosen as the objects of research. Another biological experiment—"Gel"—was begun Monday.

Throughout most of today Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin will be engaged in preparing their space suits and equipment for a walk in open space scheduled for 26 July. The cosmonauts have to perform a number of dismantling jobs on the outer surface of the complex and to close the outer hatch of the "Kvant-2" module's airlock, which could not be fully closed at the time of the 17 July egress.

According to the results of medical screening, the state of health of the commander and the flight engineer is good.

'Mir' Space Station Developments Reported

LD2507211190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent Sergey Slipchenko]

[Text] The public is following the development of events on board the Mir manned space station with rapt attention and concern. The emergency that has arisen there, connected with the cosmonats' egress into space, was discussed today by the competent commission.

Well, obviously, the station has been operating for many years, and, clearly, there is some limit of fatigue. So what has happened in orbit? Our correspondent reports.

[Slipchenko] Over the past few days, we have received many phone calls at our television studios and at the Mayak radio station. Our viewers and listeners are asking: What really is happening on board the Mir space station? What's going on in space? Tomorrow will see the latest extravehicular activity by cosmonauts Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin. What will they be doing?

At Flight Control Center today there was a meeting of state commission and a technical council of the main specialists, at which the priorities of today's work in space were assigned. [video shows meeting in progress in large room; then switches to a diagram of the Mir space station; Slipchenko points to various parts of the diagram during the rest of the report]

The main task tomorrow is, nevertheless, not to close the hatch; the main task is for the cosmonauts to lower themselves once again to this point, [Slipchenko indicates the spot on the diagram], to this star-shaped docking assembly on the Mir space station, and here to free the handrails that they set up in order to move along the station, along the ship, then repairing the vacuum shield heat insulation. These handrails may prevent the space ship—it's indicated here in the diagram—from undocking. But the main thing is that, if these handrails swing about freely, unfixed, they may prevent the docking of a future ship and a future expedition. The cosmonauts will then have to return up, along the resupply module, to this hatch [Slipchenko indicates which one with his pen] and try to close the hatch.

How are the cosmonauts living at the moment? Colored in red [on the diagram] is the compartment of the station that is no longer hermetically sealed. The compartment can now be said to contain space. But between the red and the green colors [two adjacent compartments: the red one with the open hatch and the green one to which it is attached] there is also a bulkhead, a hatch. It is shut. Throughout the rest of the station, the cosmonauts are working normally and are continuing to carry out their program. So, if it proves impossible to close the hatch, the station can function indefinitely in this position. Many people ask what will happen if the next hatch also malfunctions. Well, if the next hatch malfunctions, the cosmonauts will surrender the next section to space. And this will go on until the ship itself is reached. [video shows meeting in progress again]

At the same commission today, all services started their readiness, and a decision in principle was adopted. The specialists extend the time of the cosmonauts' work to the upper limit—to nine hours in the spacesuits.

Baltic Republics

Reportage on Lithuanian Talks With RSFSR

Press Conference Held

LD2507220790 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] At a news conference held yesterday deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, Bronius Kuzmickas, informed the journalists about the preparations for talks with the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation.

The leadership of the Soviet Union is interested in getting the talks started as soon as possible. Bronius Kuzmickas pointed out that the future talks are a very responsible undertaking and Lithuania must not sit down at the negotiating table without prior fundamental preparation. Consequently, Lithuania's seemingly slower actions should not be misinterpreted as delay tactics. The deputy chairman of the Lithuanian parliament said that Lithuania is actively preparing for talks both with the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation. According to Bronius Kuzmickas, a treaty with Russia is likely to be signed first.

Consultations Held 25 Jul

LD2507224790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] A consultative meeting on the organization of talks between the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and Lithuania took place in Moscow today. The delegations were led by Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian parliament. In their interview with an INTERFAX correspondent, the leaders of the delegations expressed great satisfaction with the meeting's results, and stressed that it had taken place in a friendly atmosphere. The sides agreed to set up specific working groups to elaborate a cooperation agreement, in which economic and trade ties could be the focus. It is also planned to develop interparliamentary links and contacts in the sphere of science and culture.

Answering a question on how the current meetings could influence negotiations between Lithuania and the USSR, Ceslovas Stankevicius said that Lithuania does not regard contact with Russia to be at variance with the negotiations with the USSR. Comrade Khasbulatov noted that the consultations that have taken place could not impede the process of negotiations between Lithuania and the USSR, as Russia is actually the core of the Union, and if Lithuanian representatives want to cooperate with it, it will serve the strengthening of relations between Lithuania and the USSR and not their estrangement.

Delegation's Visit Detailed

LD2507182490 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT 25 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandras Budrys]

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—Representatives of Russia and Lithuania agreed that "there are no differences between them that could interfere with future bilateral talks," the Lithuanian Parliament Deputy Chairman Ceslovas-Vytautas Stankevicius, heading a visiting Lithuanian parliamentary delegation.

He referred to the results of the official consultative meeting with Vice-President of the Russian Federation Ruslan Khasbulatov.

According to Stankevicius, during the two-hour meeting, the sides thoroughly discussed the agenda of future negotiations between Lithuania and the Russian Federation, principles of bilateral trade and economic relations, the situation in the sphere of labour resources, the possibility to elaborate joint programmes and cooperation in communications, science, technology and culture.

"We have an impression that the Russian Federation is planning to trade in its natural resources and raw materials itself," Stankevicius said. He said the Russian Federation was interested in purchasing Lithuanian products, first and foremost foodstuffs and consumer goods.

Speaking about the possibility of future talks with the Soviet Union, Stankevicius noted that problems that Lithuania and the Russian Federation would resolve between themselves, "will not be the subject of talks with the Soviet Union."

He noted that "the majority of trade issues could be settled with Russia" and said he hoped that the agreement on trade and economic cooperation could be signed in late September. The sides are also planning to begin working out a joint political declaration, Stankevicius said.

Some members of the Lithuanian delegation today met Soviet deputy foreign minister Viktor Komplektov. The talk was unofficial, Lithuanian Deputy Foreign Minister Voldemaras Katkus told TASS.

Participants discussed entry to and exit from Lithuania, the possibility of transferring some control border posts under the jurisdiction of the republican government, creation of another border post on the Polish-Lithuanian border and opening Lithuanian "interest bureaus" in other countries and foreign bureaus in Lithuania.

Katkus positively assessed the results of the meeting that was attended by several Soviet Foreign Ministry departments heads.

Later in the day, the delegation left for Vilnius.

Delegation Leaves for Moscow

LD2507095490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] A group of members of the Lithuanian Supreme Council commission for preparing for negotiations with the Russian Federation, headed by Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, left for Moscow this morning. Matters related to the preparations for negotiations with the representatives of the Russian Federation will be discussed at the meetings held there.

Kuzmickas Interviewed on Talks

PM2507150390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Bronjus Kuzmickas, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and head of the Commission for Political, Legal, and Diplomatic Preparations for Talks with the USSR, by INTERFAX correspondent Renat Abdullin: place and date not given: "INTERFAX: Bronjus Kuzmickas on Forthcoming Talks With the USSR"—first paragraph is an IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] We offer for your attention an interview given to INTERFAX correspondent Renat Abdullin by Bronjus Kuzmickas, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, who heads the Commission for Political, Legal, and Diplomatic Preparations for Talks with the USSR, which was set up by parliament.

[Abdullin] In an interview given to INTERFAX Friday [20 July], following the joint sitting of the USSR Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation and her conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev, Lithuanian Premier Prunskiene declared that talks with Moscow "could start already next week." When, in your view, will the Lithuanian side be ready for talks?

[Kuzmickas] In August, I think, but I cannot be more precise than that because the date has not yet been discussed in our Supreme Soviet. We are preparing. Both the parliamentary and the government commission on preparations for the talks are at work. Their work is not yet complete. Their evaluations have yet to be submitted to parliament.

[Abdullin] Are there still problems to be resolved before talks with the USSR begin?

[Kuzmickas] It is necessary to formulate the basic guidelines for the government delegation, whose members have yet to be appointed, and to prepare a draft protocol whose signing by both sides should mark the beginning of talks. The preparation of the draft protocol is still under way. These are the basic stages we still have to cover.

[Abdullin] Have there been any preliminary discussions on the composition of the Lithuanian delegation to the talks? After all, the Soviet delegation has already been appointed.

[Kuzmickas] No, there have been no discussions yet. One of the options is to work on the principle of correspondence with the Soviet delegation, but there is also an option whereby our delegation will be appointed according to our own principles. We still have to decide what to do.

[Abdullin] You said that the principles of the talks have yet to be confirmed. What will they be?

[Kuzmickas] The basic political stipulation is that the talks should lead to accords recognizing the restoration of an independent Lithuanian Republic. We are not simply withdrawing from the Union, we are actually restoring something which was created in 1918 on a legal basis.

[Abdullin] Judging by everything, the forthcoming talks should, from the Lithuanian leadership's point of view, produce some sort of system of accords?

[Kuzmickas] To start with, initially there should be the conclusion of a basic treaty on mutual relations between the Lithuanian Republic and the Soviet Union as two autonomous states in the general political sense. Afterwards, on the basis of this treaty, it will be possible to sign agreements on economic ties, on conditions for the Soviet Army's presence in Lithuania (we are not ruling out that the Soviet Army might remain on the republic's territory but we must agree on what conditions), on civic rights (in other words the rights of Soviet citizens in Lithuania and of Lithuanian citizens in the USSR), on cultural cooperation, and possibly in other spheres. A system of treaties is envisaged, and we are setting up expert groups to prepare them.

[Abdullin] When do you expect a plenary sitting of parliament to ratify the conclusions by the commission you head?

[Kuzmickas] We must submit these fundamental stipulations and the composition of expert groups for discussion by the Supreme Soviet next Wednesday (25 July). But submission does not mean final decision. There will certainly be remarks, debates, amd arguments in parliament. It will evidently be necessary to do some additional work.

Lithuania-USSR Talks 'May Begin in August'

LD2507132690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] A Lithuanian delegation led by Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the republic, is arriving in Moscow today. The delegation also comprises Cepaitis, a parliamentary deputy, and academician (Ryukas). They are expected to meet Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia,

to discuss the possibility of cooperation between Russia and Lithuania. According to available information, Katkus, deputy foreign ministry of Lithuania, is also ariving in Moscow today for consultations with a group of Foreign Ministry officials.

As for Lithuania's talks with the Soviet Union, they may begin in August after the basic principles have been formulated for the Lithuanian delegation. This was announced by Kuzmickas, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the republic, before the Lithuanian delegation left for Moscow.

Lithuanian Decree on Talks With USSR

90UN2378A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 6 Jul 90 p 1

[Decree of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania on Preparations for Interstate Negotiations With the USSR]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania
expressing the sovereign will of the people to achieve the free activity of all the rights and interests of the reconstituted independent democratic state,
and being convinced that the peaceful route of sovereign law and political negotiations with the USSR will lead to this goal;
with the goal of expediting these negotiations, decrees:

1. On the part of the Republic of Lithuania the interstate negotiations with the USSR are headed by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania. With the goal of preparing for the negotiations a Commission for Political, Legal, and Diplomatic Preparations is formed. It represents the Supreme Council Presidium and the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, and it is approved by the Supreme Council.

2. This commission is charged with preparing a draft of the principles of mutual relations between the Republic of Lithuania and the USSR and introducing it to the Supreme Council of this current convocation.

3. The Commission for Political, Legal, and Diplomatic Preparations creates expert and specialized parliamentary and governmental working groups, designs basic political positions, determines competency, and analyzes content and results of meetings with USSR departments.

4. Upon reaching agreement between the Republic of Lithuania and the USSR with regard to goals and conditions for negotiations, a state delegation, approved by the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council, is formed.

5. Procedure and content of preparations for negotiations are coordinated with the Republic of Latvia and the Republic of Estonia by way of examination in the Council of Baltic States.

[Signed] V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania.
[Dated] Vilnius, 5 July 1990.

Lithuanian Supreme Council 26 Jul Session Viewed

Agenda Discussed

LD2607090790

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0700 GMT on 26 July begins to broadcast a live relay from the plenary session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council in Vilnius.

Correspondent Janina Mecelicaite begins by reporting that many issues had not yet been solved and the parliament will have to work hard, even on Saturday, to carry out all the work that has been planned.

The chairman of the session, Deputy Abisalas, then presents to the deputies all the items on the agenda that must be discussed this week before the Supreme Council is adjourned for the summer holidays.

At 0710 GMT, the deputies discuss the proposed agenda. This is followed by the presentation of a draft decision of the Supreme Council concerning the program of economic reform. The decision states that "a Program of Economic Reform, to be rapidly implemented, should be prepared and presented for discussion to the Supreme Council by the Government of Lithuania. The program should be ready for discussion by 1 October, 1990". The decision also says that draft laws related to the economic program and the program of "the state property and social security of the citizens during the transition period" should also be set up by the same date. The decision bans giving out the state property as well as giving out the property belonging to collective farms until relevant privatization laws are adopted.

At 0720 GMT, debates on the draft decision begin. Some deputies are against the delay of the economic reform. Deputy Vagnoris says that postponing the reform until 1 October and perhaps even later could cause resentment among the population. People want reforms now, he says, and "if we do not do it now, the whole process of reform would get out of our control, people will start implementing it the way they see it."

At 0815 GMT, debates begin on the draft decision on the expansion of farmers' private households. This mainly concerns the amount of land a farmer can have by law. Many deputies voice their points of view on land reform and how the intensive state farming would be affected by the reform.

At 0830 GMT, the session adjourns until 0900 GMT.

Agricultural Issues Raised

LD2607110890

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0900 GMT on 26 July resumes its broadcast of a live relay of the plenary session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council in Vilnius. Debates on the draft decision on expansion of the private household of citizens living in rural areas continues.

At 0910 GMT, Dubickas, representative of the Lithuanian Ministry of Agriculture, takes the floor. He says that the Ministry of Agriculture supports the decision. However, he voices some critical remarks concerning specific paragraphs and statements in the draft decision. For example, he says that speaking about land distribution to farmers in rural areas, the draft says that "not less than two hectares" of land could be given to any farmer. The speaker says that in some collective farms, it is possible to give more than two hectares, whereas in others this would not be possible.

At 0918 GMT, Deputy Arlauskas takes the floor. He said that this question is of great significance for people living in rural areas. He speaks about his constituency of Dotnuva, Kedainiai Rayon, where collective farms are very successful and the land is very fertile. If everybody at these collective farms claimed their right to two hectares of arable land, then these collective farms would be practically taken out of operation, he says. He proposes to abstain from adopting this decision.

At 0927 GMT, Deputy Pangonis says that "raising this issue today is more of a political gesture aimed at demonstrating to the farmers taht the government cares" rather than trying to find a radical solution to the problem.

At 0930 GMT, Deputy Poskus takes the floor. He does not support the proposal to adopt the above decision today.

At 0948 GMT, Some deputies say that the decision was premature, that land reform in the independent Republic of Lithuania was prepared during a six-year-period—from 1920 to 1926. Even then, mistakes were made. It would be impossible to solve the problem of land reform in a month or so, they say.

At 0955 GMT, A deputy says that the decision would take us back to the scythe and rake farming times.

At 1013 GMT, a vote is held on two proposals: To adopt the above decision today or to postpone the decision for a later time. By a majority of votes, it is decided to adopt the decison today.

At 1021 GMT, debates and editing of each paragraph of the above decision begin. A vote is taken on each specific paragraph. One of the first paragraphs adopted states, that people working and living in rural areas as well as retired people could be granted allotments of land up to two hectares. By a majority of votes, the entire decision is adopted.

At 1030 GMT, the session is adjourned until 1200 GMT.

Draft Law on Prices Discussed

LD2607140390

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1200 GMT on 26 July resumes its broadcast of a live relay of the plenary session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council in Vilnius.

At this time, a vote is taken on a decision of the Supreme Council to ban giving out and dividing the state property until a relevant government act on privatization has been adopted.

At 1239 GMT, Deputy Andriukaitis from the Commission of Health Care and Social Security, presents a report on the draft Pharmacology Law. This is only a first reading of the draft. Following this, deputies agree to discuss the issue of private chemists shops and the private manufacturing of medicine.

At 1250 GMT, discussion begins on the Law on Prices of the Republic of Lithuania. The author of the draft law is Deputy K. Glaveck as a report is made by Deputy Antanavicius. This is the second reading of the draft.

Deputy Antanavicius says that this law does not define which prices would be under the control of the government because on the path toward a market economy, "every week, the list prices of goods which the state allowed for free speculation would be changing from day to day."

At 1300 GMT, Deputy Antanavicius concludes his report and answers questions.

At 1312 GMT, debates begin on the draft law on prices. Deputy Vagnoris takes the floor. He explains in detail some specific instances in the draft, such as "defined price" and "recommended price" by the government. He also voices some other critical remarks concerning the draft.

At 1321 GMT, Deputy Kruopas continues the debate.

At 1329 GMT, the debates end. The deputies decide to vote on the adoption of the law paragraph by paragraph. The session is adjourned until 1400 GMT.

Lithuania Seeks Talks on Soviet Troop Pullout

LD2607132590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0230 GMT 26 Jul 90

[From the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] The Lithuanian Council of Ministers' Department for the Defense of the Land plans to present a bill to the leadership of the USSR for the USSR Armed Forces' use of lands and forests of that Baltic republic and also for the property of the Lithuanian army confiscated in 1940. Preparations for talks with the Soviet Union on arrangements for withdrawal of USSR Armed Forces from Lithuanian territory are considered a priority task there.

60 Percent Refuse Soviet Draft in Lithuania

LD2507120390 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Correspondent Juozas Kavolis report]

[Text] The Soviet military authorities planned that 5,880 Lithuanian young men who reached the age of 18 would be called up to serve in the Soviet Armed Forces. Today Konstantin Golubev, representative of the military commissariat, informed Vilnius Radio that targets set by the military authorities have not been reached: 60 percent of young men from Lithuania have refused to serve in the Soviet Armed Forces. It should be noted that among those who refused there are young men of other nationalities besides Lithuanian.

As we have already reported, this year the spring call up was carried out twice. First young men were called up to do military service in April, and the last ones were called up on 13 July. It is absolutely clear that during such a long period of time the military commissariat was expecting political changes in Lithuania favorable to the military commissariat which would have allowed the officials of the Soviet military forces to take more resolute actions against the recruits.

Meanwhile here in Lithuania the law concerning service in the Soviet Armed Forces became invalid from the day that Lithuania's independence was declared. All 48 military commissariats have lost their legal powers in the republic. According to Konstantin Golubev, Moscow should take the current situation into consideration because to carry on working under such extreme conditions, as allegedly the military commissariats are experiencing in Lithuania at the moment, has become impossible. What K. Golubev terms extreme conditions is the legal isolation and the atmosphere of no tolerance which is demonstrated to the military institutions in Lithuania by the public of the republic.

However, there have been much concern and confusion in the society itself: some decided to refuse to do military service and to go into hiding; others decided to take no risks. Out of 4,704 young men of Lithuanian nationality 960 left to serve in the Soviet Armed Forces. This is less than one fourth of the total number of Lithuanians due to be called up for military service.

Audrius Butkevicius, director of the department of the country's defense, told Vilnius Radio that most of the young men who left for service in the Soviet Armed Forces were from rural areas. According to him, traditions are observed to a greater extent there: when neighbors and relatives had done their military service it was difficult to overcome the established attitude and to refuse to do military service. In addition, it was not easy to withstand the psychological pressure exerted by local military commissariats.

However, in some areas of Lithuania not one or very few young LIthuanians joined the Soviet Armed Forces, for example, one in Silute rayon, and six in Kaunas rayon.

Many young men joined the Soviet Armed Forces because they saw no specific guarantees from the authorities. A. Butkevicius pointed out that the government failed to offer a neccessary alternative in time. In neighboring Latvia after a special labor service was set up significantly more young men than in Lithuania abstained from service in the Soviet Armed Forces. According to K. Golubev, all the cases of those who refused to serve in the army were handed to the Procurator's Office.

Meanwhile, after the call-up had been concluded the law on compulsory service for the protection of the republic has been adopted by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania. According to A. Butkevicius, director of the department, a concept of recruitment for the defense of the republic should emerge by this autumn. According to the new law the wishes of the recruit will be taken into consideration. He will be able to choose either regular service in the defense of the republic or to do work for the benefit of the public.

Lithuanian Radicals Call Prunskiene 'KGB Agent'

LD2507184690 Warsaw PAP in English 1744 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Vilnius, July 25—The Radical League of Lithuania's Freedom and the Union of Lithuanian National Youth staged today a rally near the Council of Ministers building in Vilnius, the ELTA agency reported.

A few hundreds of people took part in the gathering demanding resignation of Kazimira Prunskiene's government. They accused Prunskiene of being subordinated to the Kremlin and seeking uneven negotiations with Moscow.

The league distributed a bulletin which contained a letter by KGB employees which said that Prunskiene was a KGB agent. There is no proof the letter was genuine, the agency said.

Lithuanian Flags To 'Fly at Half-Staff' 21 Jul

PM2607100390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jul 90 First Edition p 3

[Correspondent Captain Second Rank V. Gromak, TASS correspondent S. Bykhun dispatches under the "Direct Line" rubric and the general heading "Celebration, But Not for Everyone"]

[Text] Vilnius—On 21 July 1940 Lithuania's National Seimas adopted the historical decision to restore Soviet power in Lithuania and become part of the USSR.

The Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Citizens Committee, the Vilnius City Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania (CPSU), the Leninist Communist Youth League of Lithuania [Komsomol], the "Venibe-Yedinstvo—Yednost" Socialist Movement for Perestroyka in Lithuania, the Lithuanian Socialist Workers Federation, and the Vilnius City Council of War and

Labor Veterans issued an address dedicated to this anniversary, in which they expressed their resolve to fight for the restoration of the validity of the Lithuanian SSR and USSR Constitutions on the republic's territory.

The 50th anniversary celebration of Soviet power in Lithuania will open Saturday with a rally in Vilnius City Park.

The Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium responded to the 50th anniversary in its own way. On 19 July, V. Landsbergis signed a statement by the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium. It says: "The day after tomorrow will mark the 50th anniversary of the day a great misfortune and betrayal befell Lithuania, its public, and its people....

"In our memories, 21 July remains a day of insult, shame, and misfortune. It may be marked, if citizens or institutions so desire, by flags with ribbons of mourning. Flags over the Supreme Soviet building and Gediminas Tower will fly at half-staff." [Gromak ends]

Vilnius—This week it was impossible not to notice a new turn toward open political confrontation with the Soviet Union's leadership in decisions made by the Lithuanian parliament's deputies. For example, bewilderment was caused by parliament's decision to create national military formations in the republic, which clearly runs counter to the same parliament's recently announced moratorium on the act of 11 March 1990 and does not assist normal preparations for talks with the USSR.

A significant section of deputies was against the hasty adoption of the Law on Conscription. They suggested first submitting the draft law to the court of public opinion. But fellow-parliamentarians' arguments and doubts presented no obstacle to V. Landsbergis' supporters —the law was still adopted.

Prunskiene Receives Lithuanian Jewish Leader

LD2507161390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] On 24 July, the prime minister of the republic of Lithuania, Kazimiera Prunskiene, received Emanuelis Zingeris, chairman of the foreign affairs commission of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic, chairman of the Society of Culture o.' the Lithuanian Jews.

During their talks they discussed problems concerning immortalizing the memory of the Jews who lost their lives on Lithuanian soil and the preservation and reconstruction of the cultural heritage of the Jewish community.

Romualdas Ozolas, deputy premier of the Republic of Lithuania, was present during the talk.

Lithuania To Introduce New License Plates

LD2407160590 Vilnius International Service in English 2200 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Among other issues discussed today, the Lithuanian government has ruled to introduce new car license plates with Roman characters on them. The new license plates will be introduced as of next year. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Defense Opens Office in Mazeikiai

LD2507210690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Report from Mazeikiai by correspondent Audrone Zubaviciute]

[Excerpts] [Zubaviciute] The defense department's office is quite new in Mazeikiai and our republican radio presents for the first time the authorized representative of the country's defense department in Mazeikiai Rayon, Juozas Valantinas. You just started your work?

[Valantinas] Yes, these are our first days. We have no furniture, no safe, we have only a telephone. It is very difficult to start. Although the activity of the military commissariats has been abolished, they continue their work, collect all information. We are starting everything from scratch to restore the defense of our country. [passage omitted] So far, I am the only official in the rayon, and the military commissariats have a very well organized apparatus. [passage omitted] It would be nice if young people would join us, former officers, sergeants, who are familiar with this work, especially with the border services. But so far there are very few such people.

[Zubaviciute] Is there any confrontation between you and the military commissariat?

[Valantinas] So far, we have not had any direct contacts. Our commissar is ill. But, perhaps, he will need us, too.

Lithuanian Greens Protest Against Firing Range

LD2507212190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Members of the Green Party in Saldus Rayon near the Lithuanian border have organized a protest march to the (?Izvarte) firing range. Since 1955 bombing and strafing exercises from military aircraft have been taking place there. Through the fault of the servicemen a cemetery on the territory of the firing range has been destroyed. This has provoked indignation among the local rural population.

Upon the demand of participants in the demonstration, military authorities have been compelled to allow the marchers access to the cemetery, where the graves were put in order and crosses erected on them. The participants in the march demanded that the territory of the firing range be returned to the Republic of Latvia.

Riga Radio Reports 25 Jul Latvian Supreme Soviet

Government Program Debated

LD2507133790

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 0700 GMT on 25 July begins broadcasting a live relay of the Latvian Supreme Soviet session in Riga. Anatolijs Gorbunovs is in the chair.

At 0703 GMT, Cepanis, on behalf of the Trade and Public Services Commission, is the first speaker in the continuing debate on the government program. We speak in favor of privatization and the program. His nine minute speech ends at 0712 GMT.

At 0712 GMT, Girts Krumins speaks on behalf of the Commission for Industry. He supports the program in general, but has some proposals for inclusion in it.

At 0717 GMT, Ojars Kehris speaks speaks on behalf of the Economics Commission. He has a number of proposals concerning privatization, suggesting in conclusion that it would be better to return to the program after the parliament's recess.

At 0728 GMT, Janis Skapers speaks on behalf of the Commission for Local Government and Public Affairs. He emphasizes the importance of the program for preventing disaster, but also has a number of criticisms concerning the program which he says deviated from what was outlined by the People's Front. In conclusion, he says that it was not the fault of the government that there were gaps in the program, but of the economic and political mess caused by the previous administration, and to this he says he would like to draw the attention of Alekseyev and Rubiks who are "shedding crocodile tears" for the people. Skapers says he believes that the final version of the program should be adopted in September.

At 0742 GMT, Vladlens Einins speaks on behalf of the Marine Commission. He discusses the miserable state of affairs of Latvian shipping still under Moscow's control, and he outlines further development undertakings for marine matters.

At 0754 GMT, Vladlen Dozortsev, speaking in Russian on behalf of the Commission for Social Security and Health, reviews the criticisms heard concerning the program. He talks about the market economy and the present economic shortages, expressing support for the program.

At 0807 GMT, Ojars Blumbergs, speaking on behalf of the Commission for Architecture, construction, Power, Transport and Information, says that the program did not provide necessary practical details concerning agriculture, industry, and prices. He outlines the necessary undertakings for construction problems in Riga, stating that military units should be moved outside Riga, he encourages people to move away from large towns, and he briefly mentions power supply.

At 0828 GMT, Dainis Ivans, now in the chair, says that after the commissions' representatives, individual speakers will now continue in the debate.

At 0824 GMT, Berklavs expresses concern about the diminishing number of Latvians. He says that for talking about this, he has been attacked in the Russian-language press, and he discusses the importance of the nationalities problem. He also has some proposals for the program, saying in conclusion that the program could be adopted, but suggestions expressed should be included in it.

At 0838 GMT, the session is adjourns for a break until 0900 GMT.

Lack of Secrecy Stressed

LD2507140290

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 0900 GMT on 25 July resumes a live relay of the Latvian Supreme Soviet session in Riga. Gorbunovs is in the chair.

At this time, Janis Biezais begins to speak. He is concerned about the economy, and mentions that Soviet industrialization caused more evil than direct repression.

At 0911 GMT, Bresis comes to the podium. He mentions USSR enterprises in the republic and says that agriculture is facing a crisis, but thinks that there is a lack of time and therefore the government should not be compelled to work on the program again. He says he would vote for the program to be accepted on the first reading.

At 0920 GMT, Kurdyumov, speaking in Russian, says that he has many queries and questions, but the program could pass on the first reading.

At 0931 GMT, Zeile says that the program should not be assessed too lowly. Among other things, she stresses that information should become more widely accessible. There is no secrecy any longer and it is known that Latvia has reached an ecological crisis situation, she says.

At 0941 GMT, (Cernajs) talks about the development of craftsmanship, and about the program as a whole. He thinks that it should be adopted.

At 0948 GMT, Arnitis discusses agricultural matters.

At 0957 GMT, Shiptsov, speaking in Russian, says that not only the program, but also activity is important.

At 1005 GMT, Endzelis says that the implementation of the relevant part of the program is necessary for a cardinal change in education, and he asks the deputies to adopt the program.

At 1016 GMT, Raimonds Krumins proposes for discussion a mechanism for a transformation to privatization, applying this here to agriculture.

At 1026 GMT, Kurdyumov has a procedural question concerning a deputy's speech.

At 1027 GMT, Dobelis reads a request to the government (to Bisers) by deputies concerning taking over into government property Latvia's newspaper and magazine publishing house and establishing an independent joint stock company for the publishing house. He says that the monopoly rights are still, unfortunately, being exercised by Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee (on CPSU platform) in connection with the 'Cina'.

At 1029 GMT, Gorbunovs thanks the radio for the relay, and says that now they will have internal questions.

Program Shortcomings Discussed

LD2507144190

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 1200 GMT on 25 July resumes a live relay of the Latvian Supreme Soviet session in Riga. Gorbunovs is in the chair.

At this time, the debate continues on the government program with (Morozla), speaking in Russian. He discusses the similar understanding here and in the West on businessmen and speculators and notes a lack of action mechanisms in the program.

At 1208 GMT, Kide, talking about education, complains about the inadequate provisions for education and culture in the program.

At 1217 GMT, Geidans tries to view the program from the standpoint of Jelgava, explaining that Jelgava wanted to get rid of the republic's debate just as the republic wanted to get rid of the USSR dictate.

At 1227 GMT, Makharev, in Russian, says that simply criticizing the program would not do. He wants the program to be adopted.

At 1237 GMT, Ivars Krastins suggests that Mrs. Zhdanoka read at least the first article on pensions. He talks further about the programs shortcomings concerning health service.

At 1242 GMT, Belsis mentions the indeterminate transitional period in the independence declaration for which they were trying to find a legal justification.

At 1250 GMT, Roga, in Russian, talks in some detail about power generation and supply problems, and offers some proposals concerning the program.

At 1301 GMT, Ozols supports the program, and suggests implementing it with the second-session of the parliament.

At 1308 GMT, Apsitis discusses measures to improve the housing situation, and approves of the program in general.

At 1313 GMT, (Rodionov), in Russian, discusses construction matters.

At 1321 GMT, Gorbunovs announces the number of speakers who have spoken in the debate, those remaining, and proposes to discontinue the debate.

At 1322 GMT, a count of deputies is taken: 101 present.

At 1324 GMT, with 58 votes for, 31 against, and nine abstentions, the proposal to discontinue the debate is approved.

At 1326 GMT, Bisers sums about the debate on the prograd. He says that a majority had supported the program, although there had been some who had thought that the government should resign. All the proposals could not be acceped. The government could not promote to include all the mechanisms, nor to reply to all the questions. The government would work with the program for five years, reporting each year on its progress. Some of the undertakings could not be predicted; the same applied to talk with the USSR. The constructive proposals, irrespective of the faction they had come from, would be included in the rogram in the nearest future, says Bisers. Next week, the government would present to the parliament the final versions of the program. This could not be delayed until September because other urgent tasks await. Delay could be very dangerous, Bisers stresses. The establishment of our own bank is important, he says. Confidence in the government should be expressed during this session, he concludes.

At 1340 GMT, Gorbunovs comments on procedural matters. The parliament will work all this week and next week, he says, announcing that the session will now move on to discuss internal matters.

At 1342 GMT, the relay is discontinued.

At 1350 GMT, reportage from the session continues with an interview conducted with one of the deputies concerning education.

At 1400 GMT, the reporter announces that the relay has concluded.

Latvian Foreign Minister Views Copenhagen Visit

90UN2347A Riga ATMODA in Latvian
No 24, 19 Jun 90 p 14

[Interview with J. Jurkans, Latvian Foreign Minister, by V. Berzins, ATMODA correspondent: "Returning to Europe"]

[Text] In early June, the foreign ministers of the three Baltic nations arrived in Copenhagen, where the Committee on Security and Cooperation in Europe Conference on Humanitarian Issues was taking place, by invitation of the European Parliament's Christian

Democratic Party fraction. ATMODA's correspondent V. Berzins has asked Latvian Foreign Minister J. Jurkans to describe the trip.

[Correspondent] Mr. Minister, to what extent did your pre-departure plans for Copenhagen correspond to the actual developments at the Conference on European Security and Cooperation?

[Jurkans] To be honest, before we departed, we thought that we would be lobbying: visiting the delegations in Copenhagen, looking for support, so that the Baltic question would be given proper attention. In a way we hoped, that the Balts could be given a chance to address the Conference and talk about our problems. Of course, this did not happen, because the conference is based on the principle of concensus, so if any nation objects, then observer or delegate status is out of the question. The Lithuanians already tried this a little earlier, and they were politely but firmly rejected, because, as the Danish Foreign Ministry correctly predicted, the Soviet Union put down its veto.

[Correspondent] Which countries expressed the greatest interest on the Baltic issue?

[Jurkans] The conference was significant in the sense, that the Baltic issue was often brought up and discussed and a stern and explicit way. The strongest words came from the American, Danish, Norwegian, Polish and Icelandic Foreign Ministers (a quote from the Foreign Minister of Iceland J. Hanibalson's speech appeared in the last issue of ATMODA). We could have accepted the fact that we aren't recognized, aren't given the chance to speak, and returned home in low spirits, but I think, that what happened afterwards is very significant. The Norwegian Foreign Minister invited the Foreign Ministers of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia to visit Oslo. These meetings were actually on an official state delegation level. The dialogues were conducted in a serious and attentive manner. We will soon begin work on setting up an information office in one of the Baltic States. This could be either a Norwegian, or possible the Council of Northern States' information bureau in the Baltic. We also discussed the possibility of specific economic cooperation with Norway.

[Correspondent] To what extent does the West relate Gorbachev's political future with developments in the Baltic?

[Jurkans] When making contact with the Baltic, the Norwegians are no longer looking over their shoulders at Moscow in the fear that they might damage relations with Gorbachev. This is true not only for Norwegians. In Denmark, just as in Norway, people are ready to offer assistance during this transitional period. I think, at this point we should not be asking for strong declarations, or accusing the West of not recognizing us. We are not ready for that. Swedish Deputy Foreign Minister Pierre Shori, having arrived at the airport in Riga, was forced to wait almost an hour on the other side of the imaginary border, while the Central borderguards, whose authorities are in Moscow, "handled" the formalities. This is a good example of our "independence" in reality.

But let us not lose hope. Denmark and Norway believe, that next year at the continuing Helsinki Conference in Moscow, 37 nations will be participating (right now 35 nations are participating - East Germany and three Baltic States).

The Chamber of Commerce in Denmark plans to organize seminars for students from the Baltic States, on the free market, management and finances. People with considerable experience in business enterprises, who have foreign contacts and are skilled in English, could do fieldwork under the guidance of specialists. Ten people could go for a half year, but twenty five - for a year.

[Correspondent] How do you rate the participation of exile Latvians in our quest for independence?

[Jurkans] All these years our compatriots, who have been politically active in the West, have upheld the nonrecognition policy (Latvia's incorporation into the Soviet Union - V.B.) on a high level. Even now, when the Popular Front has been formed in Latvia, the government has been set up, and has honourably declared its goal, our countrymen in the West are giving us substantial assistance. Western countrymen have financed trips for many culturally active groups, Popular Front leaders and journalists. Among the most active are World Federation of Free Latvians President G. Meierovics, World Federation of Free Latvians Information Bureau Director J. Ritenis, American Latvian Association Public Relations Director O. Kalnins, and many more.

International organizations should work out some sort of status for these people, to make our collaborations more effective. One status could be an Honorary Consulate of Latvia. Certain old prejudices need to be overcome by us, as well as some of our compatriots in the West. They are a part of us, and there is no moral foundation to deny that, and I will do everything I can, so that those who want to work for the good of Latvia, will have every opportunity.

[Correspondent] What contacts were you able to establish during your visit to the European Parliament?

[Jurkans] As I said earlier, we visited Copenhagen on the invitation of the Christian Democratic Party fraction (the second largest group in the European Parliament after the Socialists). During our visit, the questions about and interest in developments in the Baltic nations indicated without a doubt the sympathies and support for our drive for independence. They have specific plans, how the Baltic states could obtain observer status in the European Council, how to get the Baltic issue discussed in sessions of the European Parliament. This influential organization of Europe is ready to take a stand for us.

[Correspondent] At your meetings in Scandinavia, was the US-Soviet summit often brought up?

[Jurkans] Occasionally, through private conversations one can learn of things, that have not been mentioned in the press. J. Baker's report to NATO about the results of the summit differed from the general conclusions by the press. M. Gorbachev returned from Washington with a hearty suggestion - if he seriously wants political and economic assistance from the US, he must change his attitude towards the Baltic nations (the fact, that a few days afterwards M. Gorbachev was sitting at a table with the leaders of the three Baltic states, is indication enough - V.B.).

[Correspondent] What are the priorities of the Foreign Ministry of Latvia right now?

[Jurkans] In the first case, the Baltic states need to be on one front, we need a joint foreign policy. Furthermore, we need to be united not only towards the West, but also towards the East. And finally we need to realize, that cooperation is an internal necessity.

Godmanis' Request for Meeting With Bush Refused

LD2507111990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Washington—The White House has refused the request of Godmanis, chairman of Latvia's Council of Ministers, who is in the United States on a private visit, to meet with U.S. President George Bush. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, Godmanis wanted to brief the President on the situation in Latvia, but William Harlow, the White House representative, said that it would not be possible to arrange such a meeting.

Latvian Parliament Debates Armed Formations

PM2507133390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jul 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by Colonel M. Ziyeminsh under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Are There Armed Men in Latvia?"]

[Text] Riga—The latest topic for discussion in the Latvian parliament was the question by a deputy from the Equal Rights faction on the formation of territorial detachments of custodians of law and order and an anonymous report, which circulated not just in the republic, "On Combat Formations of the Latvian People's Front, the Latvian National Independence Movement, and the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Environmental Protection Club," which cites military chekists of the Baltic Military District.

Before attending the parliamentary sitting, I telephoned the aforementioned organization. People there firmly dissociated themselves from the anonymous report, describing it as provocative.

All this naturally complicates the already difficult political situation in the republic. As a consequence of this, Interfront, for example, has announced that so-called interbrigades are beginning to be formed at plants and factories. What then is the actual position regarding the creation and activity of armed formations of men in Latvia? Explanations concerning this question were given to parliament by the following: I. Bisers, first deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers; KGB Chairman E. Johansons; Foreign Minister A. Baznis; and First Deputy Prosecutor A. Rejnieks.

It was authoritatively stated, as it were, that as of today there are no armed men operating in public organizations or publicly, and at the same time it was resolved that any formations for the protection of law and order could be created and operate only in line with the procedure established by the Council of Ministers and under its leadership and control. However, it is no longer a secret to anyone in the republic that a campaign has been launched under the auspices of the Latvian Committee (a structure of the Citizens' Congress) to reconstitute the "aizsargs" ("defenders"), who actively fought against the revolutionary movement in the twenties and thirties, supported the 15 May 1934 coup d'etat in Latvia, and collaborated with the German occupation authorities.

What is to be done about this "initiative" which is exacerbating the situation in the republic and causing increasing tension in interethnic relations?

Latvia Adopts Resolution on Foreign Trade

LD2407225590 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1730 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] The Latvian government has adopted a resolution whereby state enterprises and organizations of the Republic of Latvia, in addition to enterprises formed jointly by them with foreign firms and registered as operating on a self-supporting and self-financing basis, are authorized to sell goods and offer services for payment in foreign currency in specialized shops and enterprises in Latvia.

The foreign currency income to be obtained in this manner will have a foreign currency deduction tax of 20 percent imposed, which will be deposited into the foreign currency reserves of the government of the republic. This means in practice that those few Latvian enterprises that manufacture quality products that are in demand will also be trying to market them within the Republic for freely convertible currency. This is especially topically important when considering the difficulties that the central USSR establishments of power cause in external trade. In turn, for the great majority of citizens—for Latvian citizens who of course have no foreign currency—this will mean a further emptying of store shelves.

Attempt To Hijack Flight From Riga Fails

PM2607101790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Here is another item about a hijack attempt. This morning during flight 83-05 from Riga to Murmansk two people threatened to blow up the Tu-234 unless it was flown to Stockholm or any foreign military airfield. [video shows aircraft on apron, guards, passengers] The crew, having studied the situation and the reality of the threat, managed to distract the hijackers and land the aircraft at Petrozavodsk. There a snatch squad arrested the criminals. None of the passengers was injured. They all flew out of Petrozavodsk for Murmansk—without the criminals, of course—at 1735 hours. [video shows youth in detention] The Ministry of Civil Aviation, which supplied this information, confirmed that Kovalenko and Kuznetsov—the would-be hijackers—had no firearms or explosives on board the aircraft. I was informed of this by telephone by Deputy Minister Mikhail Aleksandrovich Timofeyev.

Ruutel Discusses Function of Estonian Committee

90UN2230C Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 13 Jun 90 p 2

[Letter from A. Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet "To T. Kelam, chairman of the Committee of Estonia, Concerning the Proposal of the Board of the Committee of Estonia to Demarcate Spheres of Activity in Legislation"]

[Text] The unity of the principal objective and directions of the congress of Estonia and the Supreme Soviet have made it possible in recent months to move forward significantly in the matter of restoring the state independence of Estonia. In this process, each of the organs is assigned its own role, which changes as they get closer to the principal objective.

In Article 2 of the Decree of the congress of Estonia "On the Principles of Administrative Procedure in the Transition Period," the congress charged the Committee of Estonia with the elaboration and introduction of provisional laws for the restoration of constitutional state authority in Estonia.

Because of the interdependence of legislation as an integral system, and of each act that is part of it, the Supreme Soviet Presidium believes that simultaneous activity by the Committee of Estonia and the Supreme Soviet as legislators is virtually infeasible.

Congress deputies comprise more than 40 percent of the Supreme Soviet. We hope that this will ensure, even under complex conditions of cooperation, whatever is necessary to achieve the common objective. We want to stress especially that these common members possess the right of legislative initiative in the Supreme Soviet, which makes it possible to realize the legislative aspirations of the congress and of the Committee of Estonia effectively.

At the same time, we believe that cooperation between the Supreme Soviet, congress, and the Committee of Estonia, including at the level of a commission, requires intensification. For these purposes, we propose urgent consideration of questions of cooperation with the authorized representatives of the Committee of Estonia in the building of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in the Kadriorg at a time suitable to you.

[Signed] Chairman of the Supreme Soviet A. Ruutel.

Savisaar Meets Bakatin on MVD Transfer

90UN2230B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 9 Jun 90 p 1

[Article by A. Birov for ETA: "E. Savisaar Met with V. Bakatin"]

[Text] Moscow—On 8 June of this year, E. Savisaar, chairman of the government of the Estonian Republic, met in Moscow with V. Bakatin, minister of internal affairs and member of the Presidential Council.

The main purpose of the meeting concerned the fact that the agreement between the government of the Estonian Republic and the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] on the transfer of the Estonian MVD system to the jurisdiction of the Estonian Republic was ready for signature. According to the draft of the agreement, the Estonian Republic assumes responsibility for maintaining law and order. The financing of the Estonian MVD system will be transferred from the Union budget to the republic budget, and, starting on 1 September, the Nymmesskaya Militia School will be turned over to the budget. The USSR MVD and the Union will assist in the fight against organized regional crime, i.e., in those cases where the threads of crime extend beyond republic boundaries. The Union ministry will also help in the material-technical and pension support of workers of the republic's MVD, which will also be implemented from the Union budget.

There was also a number of debatable questions in the draft in question, which served as a reason for the meeting with V. Bakatin. The MVD insisted, nevertheless, on the continued subordination and financing of individual subunits from the Union budget, so that a certain part of the Estonian Republic MVD would remain subordinate to the center, and it also demanded a certain accountability of the republic organs of internal affairs to union organs of internal affairs. All of these debatable questions were examined in detail and worked on today. And the main thing is that they were resolved successfully. "We came to the conclusion together that the question concerned the transfer of the entire MVD system of the Estonian Republic to our jurisdiction and subordination." As was emphasized by Edgar Savisaar, in terms of its content the document was completely ready for signing. The sides agreed to a meeting within a week to sign this important document, which is composed in two languages—Russian and Estonian.

At the meeting with Bakatin, there was also discussion about the creation of a municipal police. Here the sides came close to a common position. And, finally, there was

a discussion about the political and operational system as a whole, which was assessed as rather complex and involved.

Estonia Barters Meat for Gasoline

LD2507211890 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] It is possible to exchange 5,000 tonnes of meat for 10,000 tonnes of gasoline and 10,000 tonnes of fuel oil. This simple and almost existent arithmetic of direct contacts was quoted today during a traditional hour of information by the Estonian government. Replying to questions from the journalists, First Deputy Minister of Industry and Power [name indistinct] stated that the shortage of gasoline is not only Estonia's problem. It is felt all over the Soviet Union and direct contacts are one of the practical methods of obtaining gasoline. This form of supply is already being applied by some enterprises. There is also an opportunity to sell gasoline at commercial prices and obtain it from the producing enterprises. Most certainly, discussions on this topic will take place in the press, radio and television.

In the third qurter Estonia will deliver to the Union fund 3,000 tonnes less meat than intended, that is, 6,300 tonnes.

Estonian Labor Collectives React to Price Rises

LD2507173690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] The policy of raising prices by the Government of Estonia continues to be the main topic in the republic. The prices of fish, vegetables, fruit, juice, beer, and tobacco products have risen. Prices of industrial goods are rising secretly. It is expected that milk, meat, and travel on urban transport will become more expensive. And newspapers now cost 10 kopecks instead of three kopecks.

Today, the presidium of the amalgamated council of labor collectives of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] which unites enterprises under Union command delivered a statement on the policy of raising prices. It appealed to the Supreme Soviet of the republic, demanding that the policy of raising prices be discussed at the extraordinary session which opens on 6 August and that working people be protected against a drop in living standards.

Ceremony Recalls Restoration of Soviet Estonia

PM2507094790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Jul 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Giving an Assessment of the Events"]

[Text] Tallinn, 20 Jul—The date 21 July 1940 was a reference point and turning point in the fate of the Estonian people. Soviet power was restored on that day, and 6 August Estonia was received into the USSR as a Union republic with full rights. A ceremony held today in Tallinn marked the 50th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet power.

Lembit Annus, first secretary of Tallinn Kalininskiy Rayon party committee and member of the CPSU Central Committee, gave an address. He said, inter alia, that in 1940 the republic's highest organ of state power, fulfilling the will of the people's masses, unanimously adopted acts on the state system which proclaimed the establishment of Soviet power. Some people are very keen to present today's anniversary as a sorrowful, meaningless event, but this is pointless.

Baltics Act To Reorganize Communications

LD2407170190 Vilnius International Service in English 2200 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] The ministers of communications of the three Baltic republics have signed an agreement in the Latvian capital Riga, saying that the contracting countries recognize one another's postage stamps on their territories. Postage stamps of the Soviet Union will also remain valid. It is true, though, that the Soviet Ministry of Communications has not yet given its aproval to issuing postage stamps in the Baltic republics, and does not allow for correspondence sent to the Soviet Union to be paid for by such stamps.

The meeting of the communications ministers in Riga considered a few other essential questions: namely which particular postal and telecommunications services should be privatized, what tariffs for these services should be fixed, and what priorities should be sought in refurbishing the communications systems.

The meeting showed that each republic was going to ground its future measures on the particular situation in the given country. Estonia has decided to give private individuals licenses for setting up and using satellite communications equipment and cable networks, as well as organizing radio and television news programs. Lithuania intends to privatize local telephone networks, radio stations, and cable television, while Latvia will privatize post offices, public telephone networks, and the construction of communications buildings.

Communications Ministry Opposes Baltic Moves

LD2407214190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2054 GMT 24 Jul 90

[From the "Television News Service" Program]

[Text] Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have decided to introduce their own postage-paid stamps. So far the USSR Ministry of Communications is opposed to this.

Baltic Communist Party Leaders Meet in Riga

90UN2378B Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 4 Jul 90 p 1

[Article by N. Zdanovich: "Press Conference Held"]

[Text] A press conference took place on 2 July at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee with the participation of V. Beriozovas and Yu. Paleckis, secretaries of the Central Committee. It was dedicated to the results of the meeting of leaders of the communist parties of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania which took place last week in Riga.

In a few words V. Beriozovas described the situation of the communists in the neighboring republics and noted that the delay in deciding on the independence of their organizations has had an effect, because the parties have lost many of their active members, especially among the intelligentsia.

The second secretary went on to talk about the decisions made at the meeting in Riga. They consisted of a general agreement among the parties, the creation of a standing coordinating council of six people, a constant exchange of information, and several other provisions.

Yu. Paleckis emphasized that the documents signed in Riga the previous week were the first results of the independent and autonomous international activity of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

The press conference devoted attention to congresses of communists coming up in the Baltic republics. It was noted that their goal will apparently be to adopt (and in Lithuania to clarify and amend) party program documents that may result in a change in the name of the party.

The participants ended the press conference by answering questions from journalists.

RSFSR

Yeltsin Issues Harvest Appeal Through Newspaper

LD2607060690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 26 Jul 90

[Text] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, has made an appeal to his fellow countrymen through the pages of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper. It says, in part:

You all know very well that a critical food situation has formed in our republic. In order to avoid catastrophe, we must improve it without delay. This year nature has been kind to us. Quite a good harvest is ripening across almost all of Russia. It must be gathered in carefully, stored, and put on Russian tables. In order for things to go better, we must give toilers greater freedom and independence in decisionmaking, and provide help with transport, fuel, and manpower. We cannot get by here without active support from the towns. All forms of economic ties must be used to this end.

Of course, the appeal goes on to say, the main thing is that good material incentives are required. In order to encourage growers, machine operators, animal farmers, transport and procurement workers, and all who are directly involved in the production, storage, and marketing of produce, extra payments will be made above the procurement price using special Harvest-90 checks which give the right to unrestricted access, with payment in rubles, to various goods in very short supply, which are being transferred to a special market stock by the RSFSR government. A resolution of the RSFSR Council of Ministers on this question will be published in the next few days, Comrade Yeltsin has said.

Conflict Seen Between Newspaper, Party Committee

LD2507135290

[Editorial report] Moscow Television Service in Russian, in its "Television News Service" program at 1130 GMT on 25 July, carries a three-minute report by correspondent Nina Sokolova from Kemerovo, "where a conflict has arisen between the independent newspaper of the Union of Kuzbass Workers, and the CPSU oblast committee [obkom]." The newspaper, which is the paper of Kuzbass workers' committees, was founded last year during the strike meetings in Kemerovo, and its circulation has risen since last December to 140,000 copies. Sokolova explains its popularity as being due to its policy of speaking only the truth, regardless of persons and of the CPSU, and of sometimes using frank and shocking expressions. She continues: "The obkom put up with this for a long time, but now Aleksandr Melnikov, first secretary of the obkom, as comeback from Moscow from the 28th congress and said there is to be no more printing of anticommunist material on a communist printing press. And now it has only to be determined to whom the newspaper printing press belongs, who is to assess the communist nature of the articles in our newspaper, and also what the editorial office is to do if it refuses to change the political orientation of its newspaper."

The video shows demonstrators holding placards calling for an end to the CPSU's monopoly of the press, and "Melnikov, Hands off our Newspaper!"

Prokofyev Addresses Moscow Party Aktiv

Stresses New Role, Conditions

LD2507172690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Prokofyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Moscow party committee, met with the capital's party aktiv today. He stated that the decisions of the 28th congress are sufficiently radical. The positions of the communists of Moscow are largely reflected in them. In the course of the

precongress discussions the cast of mind of the capital's party organization changed. It ceased to be a stereotyped reliable buttress and a combat detachment of the Central Committee. It is becoming a creative laboratory of the whole party.

Touching on the results of the inaugural congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party, the head of the city's party organization stated that the forum fulfilled the task of the organizational association. The Moscow communists are to become the catalyst of the democratic processes in the Russian Communist Party.

The first secretary of the CPSU Moscow Committee dwelled on the preparations for the forthcoming second stage of the city's party conference in September. Reports and elections, he stressed, are called upon to help the party organizations in realizing their role in the new conditions and to master the art of political work among the masses.

Expounds Party's Current Role

LD2507163790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] And I should like to quote here in our information bulletin one more pronouncement by Prokofyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo the first secretary of the party's Moscow city committee. Today during his meeting with the Moscow party active Comrade Prokofyev stated: The CPSU does not aspire to be a party for all the people; its leading position has not been lost, but without harmony within the society perestroyka could choke. The political spectrum is diverse and controversial. As never before, there is a need for flexibility and skill in attaining a compromise. Positive alternatives should be put forward instead of the attacks on the CPSU, civil harmony should be strived for. The key is cooperation with all the forces which want democracy and social justice, and respect for other points of view.

Silayev Interviewed on Cabinet Formation

PM2507152090 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 29, 29 Jul-5 Aug 90 p 8

[Interview with Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Minsters, by Viktor Loshak; place and date not given: "84 Million Candidates for Russian Cabinet"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] This is the number of adults in Russia who would like to offer themselves as candidates for the government of the Russian Federation, said Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev on TV recently. Five hundred of them have already sent in their applications and profiles. They all have a good chance to win because many portfolios have not yet been filled.

MN [MOSCOW NEWS] Deputy Editor-in-Chief Viktor Loshak discusses with Russian Prime Minsiter Ivan Silayev his plans for the new cabinet.

[Loshak] Do you really think some of the "volunteers" can become ministers? Which portfolios might these daring people take?

[Silayev] Trade and the economy. None of those who've sent in their applications are likely to make it through. Several of them will be considered for deputy ministers and other responsible positions. The applications we're getting will be a rich data bank.

[Loshak] I talked to you a month ago right after your election as the Russian premier. What are your main impressions after thirty days in your new position? What have you done during that time?

[Silayev] Even when I was a minister and deputy prime minister of the USSR I failed to see the whole depth and scope of Russia's problems and ills. The republic didn't have the slightest vestige of independence, not even its own Committee for Supplies. I had no idea of the sorry state of the people of the north and western Siberia, who give the country enormous mineral wealth. Nearly one hundred billion rubles of the republic's income disappeared every year, leaving only thirty billion. People's patience is running thin. We have to hurry. During the past month we have managed to design and approve a new structure of government. The republic's Supreme Soviet is studying proposed candidates for the cabinet. Part of them have gone to work.

[Loshak] Which are your principles of cabinet selection?

[Silayev] Its members should first and foremost correspond to the objectives set by the Congress of People's Deputies of Russia. I can only say that these objectives become harder to achieve as time goes by. We expect of new ministers not only the ability to think along new lines but also to show new approaches to problems. They shouldn't just give commands, but try to influence and respond. The age of candidates is a sensitive point with us. The younger the person, the freer he or she is from stereotypes. There are of course exceptions. Dmitriy Fedorov of Saratov is 59 and we have nominated him Chairman of the Committee for Geology and Utilization of Fuel and Raw Material Resources. He impressed deputies with his striking ideas and confidence. The average age of the candidates during the first stage of the cabinet selection process is a bit more than 47.

[Loshak] Did brief profiles of candidates play some part in the selection?

[Silayev] They were essential because we saw some candidates for the first time, which is also an advantage. We were free from prejudice, and mainly interested in their work records and how creative they are. The latter gives you some idea of their professionalism. Our group of psychologists and sociologists were a great help in

assessing the candidates. All candidates were interviewed by them. We got valuable information about these people, their orientation, their motives, stability, and capacity to communicate.

[Loshak] Were some of the candidates rejected based on the results of this scientific analysis?

[Silayev] Yes. Some of the rejections were a total surprise for us. The analysis gave us much food for thought.

[Loshak] Russia's new Council of Ministers will have some unusual bodies, like state committees for land reform, for antimonopoly policy and the support of new economic activity, for the problems of women and the family. There will be a Minister for the Affairs of USSR Enterprises within the Russian Republic. These new positions are the hardest to fill.

[Silayev] Can you imagine the Ministry of Culture is the greatest problem. At first we thought there were many people to select from: authors, directors, playwrights, journalists... Admittedly, we won't rely on our own judgement here. We sought advice from our cultural figures Ulyanov, Lavrov, Glazunov, Polenov, Basilashvili, Belov. One of the recent unexpected candidates was Nikita Mikhalkov. We even called him on the phone in the US. He is one of the two or three real contenders.

Another problem is a Minister of Internal Affairs. At first we had what we thought were interesting proposals. The most important thing is the programme each of the six aspirants could offer. We did not hear anything impressive. The situation is very disturbing as regards internal affairs. Now we have decided to announce a competition of the best programme to reform this service in the republic. We could like to consider a limited number, up to ten such programmes and to select two or three to discuss.

[Loshak] According to heresay, people would be happy to see the office of Chairman of the State Committee for Public Security filled by Oleg Kalugin who was stripped of his rank of a KGB general.

[Silayev] This is just heresay.

[Loshak] Would you like to see a member of the USSR Government in our cabinet? If that were possible of course?

[Silayev] (Upon some reflection). No. I don't think that is possible.

[Loshak] Is there a threat of sabotage to the new Russian leadership from the old executive apparatus?

[Silayev] I think this question is a bit premature. But such a threat is surely there. Obviously we'll be vigorously replacing people in key positions in the ministries and committees. But this does not signify we'll be replacing them all. The apparat has many knowledgeable experts. Besides, behind every position there are people, their lives, and families.

[Loshak] Should the country's economic and social crisis grow, there'll be more strikes, as you can imagine. Chances are that new strikes, like the miners with regard to Nikolay Ryzhkov's cabinet will urge the Russian government to resign. What do you think about such a situation?

[Silayev] The State Committee for Public Security is the government body which is supposed to analyze and forecast events in the republic. The committee will have a specialized and well equipped technical group of experts. We'll expect them to identify problem areas in Russia before they come to the boiling point.

[Loshak] Which aspects are most likely to give the republic trouble: social, ethnic, political or economic.

[Silayev] Ethnic.

[Losak] One can predict that those in your government in charge of foreign economic relations are likely to encounter certain prejudice and political problems. These who bashed the ANT cooperative association aren't insignificant people on today's political scene. There's great prejudice against foreign trade. Some people would rather live in poverty than "let someone sell out the country."

[Silayev] We have the right to independently decide on many matters of foreign economic relations. We can, for example, obtain credits and use them. We've recently received a rather promising proposal from Spain: a billion dollars to buy a wide range of goods, including equipment for construction and the building materials industry. We've prepared a decision on the establishment of six free economic zones. In the area of Chita, Irkutsk and other places where there are primary and secondary resources. When you are faced with the choice either to rule the republic and keep it as poor as it is today, or to let it stand on its feet by attracting foreign capital we favour the second option. Incidentally, concessions are not necessarily the only alternative; foreign business is willing to participate in joint ventures. So it is not a matter of bondage but of partnership.

[Loshak] As the republic's Prime Minister, where are you going on your first trip in Russia?

[Silayev] In decided to go to the Talisa District in the Kalinin Region. That district is the worst example of the Russian countryside with abandoned fields and boarded-up homes. I'm going there in connection with the upcoming Extraordianary Congress of People's Deputies of Russia which will be devoted to the economic problems of the countryside. You will remember that one of the important points in my porogramme is to hand over to farmers and cooperatives as much as possible of the abandoned land.

[Loshak] Was there a pleasant and happy event in your first month in office?

[Silayev] One of the pleasant things is connected with reactions to my article published in MOSCOW NEWS in

June. I said there that my native village of Bakhtyzdino in the Govkiy Region had lost many of its residents and was disappearing from the map. Well, during the recent session an MP approached me and said the village lives, and it has many people in it and harvests are not bad. So it only confirms the idea that we have good prospects and we have not lost all hope.

Second Stage of Russian Party Forum Previewed

PM2507140490 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial incorporating roundup of readers' letters: "Consulting With All the People of Russia"]

[Text] The Russian Communist Party is preparing for the second stage of its founding congress. Its revival within the CPSU and the process of its formation are taking place at a difficult time of socioeconomic instability for the country, which is experiencing the breakup of the old structures. Scope is opening up for new forces inherent in the nature of socialism. But nothing is as easy as one would wish. Restraint, correctness of assessments, and sureness of action are today more valuable than ever. People expect from communists—who have assumed the responsibility for the past and future of the Union—resolute actions on the paths of perestroyka so as to shorten as much as possible the long-drawn-out period of transition to a worthy life.

"The objective of social development is man; it is for him that living and working conditions worthy of a modern civilization are being created; the alienation of man from political power and from the material and spiritual assets he created is being overcome, and his active involvement in social processes is being ensured." This fundamental principle of the 28th CPSU Congress program statement "Toward a Humane, Democratic Socialism" is a key factor in the formation of the action program of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party.

It is no coincidence that during the days of the congress of the Union's communists, questions of the further work of the founding congress of Russia's communists were discussed at a meeting of members of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and delegation leaders from republic, kray, and oblast organizations of the Russian Federation who were attending the 28th CPSU Congress. The organization of Russia's communists was born in disputes, and these disputes have yet to abate. And that is only natural. But if they are to be as they should be, then deliberate confrontation between the Russian Federation Communist Party and the CPSU, and between Russia and the Union, should be ruled out from the outset. The birth of the Russian Communist Party in the process of the expansion of Russia's state sovereignty is an objective necessity, since the republic's political autonomy is not possible without a strict organization of communists. The new model of federal structure is such that in future each republic will resolve its own specific vital tasks for itself, and the communists have no right to remain aloof.

The reproach that was hurled at the founding congress, that the new party structure was born in the quiet of "carpeted" offices and in the minds of conservative politicians, is groundless. It is well known that long before the conference, which later turned into a congress, the vast majority of communists and party organizations came out in favor of forming such a party. It is, indeed, a case of a political organization springing up on the initiative of the grass roots. Their voice was heard. The revival of the Russian Communist Party arises logically from the context of the country's political life.

The Coordinating Council to prepare for the second stage of the founding congress, in which members of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee are involved, is already active. The work involves delegates and members of the committee that prepared for the Russian party conference. A conference on drawing up the documents for the second stage of the RSFSR Communist Party Founding Congress, held in Moscow recently under the chairmanship of I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, discussed the initial approaches to the formulation of the party's action program for today and for the long term. But this program can only be seriously spoken of once the members of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee, having worked among the primary organizations, have a clear picture of today's political situation. This will help them to determine more accurately what specifically must be done to proceed along the path of deepening the principles advanced by the 28th CPSU Congress. Many interesting and important proposals were put forward at the conference. It involved both scientists and economists, and workers from party committees at various levels. And everyone stressed that it is necessary to consult widely with the people of Russia.

After all, for many years the party used to tell people what it would do for them, speaking through a small circle of "unanimously elected" people. The pernicious nature of this practice need hardly be mentioned. Today any party that wants to be heard must also know how to listen attentively. And that is why, in the early stages of its formation, the RSFSR Communist Party wants to hear what communists everywhere expect from it. The party's intellectual potential depends on the collective intelligence.

The founding congress instructed the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee to prepare a concrete political program on the decisive renewal of the republic's public life for discussion at the second stage. The priority task will be to lead the country out of the crisis on the basis of energetic and consistent implementation of reforms in the political, economic, and social spheres.

Russia's communists actively favor perestroyka. But not at the expense of reduced living standards for working

people, and not by means of eliminating the existing social guarantees. This does not mean that the party intends to use ideological methods to combat the market. No. It acts as an indicator of social needs, and the new methods of economic management are becoming the means of encouraging initiative, talent, legitimate enterprise, and industriousness. All these traits of the businessman are not contrary to the social justice that the party of communists advocates first and foremost.

Especially since people are today bringing some very "market-based" questions to the party committees. Someone has low wages, someone else feels he has been jettisoned, someone else has no faith in his own ability to rise above the poverty line in the conditions of the social stratification which inevitably stems from the new economic relations. They turn to the party because they see it as an age-old defender of the working person. "If the opponents of the RSFSR Communist Party call it a party of the 'right' as an insult, I will reply: Yes, it is right, in its intention to defend the principles of socialism as the most humane system," Muscovite V. Zhukov writes.

"With the formation of the party of Russia's communists there is more hope that a person's situation will be determined by his labor, not by mafia affairs," M. Sharipov, a reader from Surgut, observes. "In the struggle for the CPSU's unity and the rebirth of Russia, you will not be alone," P. Peslyuk of Voronezh tells the organizers of the founding congress through our newspaper. "You can always count on the support of communists, nor will the nonparty people remain aloof. People have now begun to be able to tell what is true and what is a lie, where there are thorns and where there are roses, and where there is a desire for power at all costs." "I am sure that in a market economy the true defenders of people's interests will emerge, and the party will restore trust in them," Muscovite V. Kornilov writes.

These sincere hopes, expressed in the editorial mail, are very close to the views of the party aktiv and coincide directly with the aims of the members of the congress preparatory committee. "Our party must be able to assess itself critically and tell the truth about its mistakes and errors. We must purge ourselves of people who compromise the party through corruption, the abuse of power and privileges, and violations of moral norms," G.I. Sklyar, first secretary of Obninsk CPSU Gorkom [City Committee] in Kaluga Oblast, notes. "We must become a party of progressive ideas, competent decisions, and vigorious actions, and cure ourselves of verbosity and the permanent gulf between word and deed."

It is apposite to quote another remark from the editorial mail. "Surely the reason the RSFSR Communist Party had enemies from the first," Muscovite L. Novikov says, "is that they saw it as a real fighter against antisocialist forces. The leaders of Russia's communists appeared not as time-servers, but as decent and committed people. If they succeed in formulating at the second stage of the congress na aciton program that meets the demands of life, and if they adhere strictly to that course, then the Russian Communist Party will become a true people's party."

One wants to add: a people's party uniting all truly democratic currents within the socialist choice. At the party's founding congress its leaders stated that they see enormous riches in the draft CPSU Central Committee Platofrm, the draft Democratic Platform, and those put forward by the Marxist and Leningrad Initiative Group and other currents. To enrich and be enriched by them—that is the ideological creed of the supporters of the new organization, which is firmly opposed to monopolies of ideas and paths of development. In the conditions of a multiparty system Russia's communists have every right to their own voice and interpretation of socialist renewal. At the same time they are well aware that they cannot resolve the vital questions of life, which affect the future of millions of people, without careful consultation with the millions of inhabitants of Russia.

The delegates to the 28th congress and the RSFSR Communist Party Founding Congress are even now discussing this in their party organizations, meeting with their fellow countrymen, and finding there, in the remotest areas, ideas and opinions with which they will later return to work on the action program.

This program will undoubtedly have a specifically Russian coloring which the ideologists of past times recognized only for the other republics. Russia was the testing ground of centralization, all its political structures became fused with the Union structures. And now, when we talk of the RSFSR Communist Party, we must bear in mind that it is by no means a new party, but only a component part of the CPSU, making up an important element in the system of the sociopolitical life of a republic which has accumulated a great many unresolved problems. But, having taken on organizational form, the Russian party is consolidating the CPSU's unity at its very roots. That is the obvious fact that is deliberately ignored by its political opponents as they instill the idea of the increasing centrifugal trends in the CSPU.

International Russia has always lived, and will continue to live, encircled by other peoples, absorbing their culture, and giving them its own. Its national and panhuman elements do not contradict one another, but converge. This feature will also no doubt be reflected in the RSFSR Communist Party's own program on the nationalities question. Like the action program, it awaits its authors—every inhabitant of Russia, every one of our readers can fulfill this role. After all, a party is an association of individuals. It is people, it is the most diverse characters, careers, and philosophies. And only by remaining such a complex but living organism can the party live and be viable. So let us think and decide together:

How should the Russian Communist Party's formation proceed at the present stage?

What do you see as the main avenues of its work?

Which acute social problems should the RSFSR Communist Party seek to resolve first of all?

What is the party's role in the present organs of power—the soviets at every level?

How, in your view, should the RSFSR Communist Party structure its relations with other social organizations and movements?

What would you like to wish the delegates to the RSFSR Communist Party Founding Congress at the second stage of its work?

RSFSR Relations With Other Republics Viewed

90UN2434A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 29, 21-27 Jul 90 p 8

[Text] **The press has reported on the negotiations between the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and a number of other Union republics. What is their objective? I. Chumakov, Leningrad.**

The question is answered by RSFSR People's Deputies R. Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, and N. Travkin, chairman of the Committee for the Work of the Soviets.

On instructions from the First RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet of Russia has begun to develop variants for concluding direct agreements with sovereign republics. The Supreme Soviet is convinced that the relations among us should be implemented mainly not through the center but directly.

We were just at a meeting of the Supreme Council of Lithuania devoted to the 70th anniversary of the peace treaty between Russia and Lithuania. One might say that this was a working meeting since delegations from the Urals, Leningrad, Orel, and other cities were there for arranging direct ties. The beginning of this process was linked to the blockade of Lithuania. In exchange for food products, help came, for example, with fuel.

We developed preliminary approaches to the beginning of negotiations. For example, it was determined that there would be not simply two republics of the Union, but two sovereign state formations. The treaty should be mutually economically advantageous. At the same time we devoted attention to the fact that when it was concluded, in the "upper part" of the treaty conditions should be stipulated for that group of the population who want to change their citizenship. We cannot be indifferent to the fate of our Russian compatriots, regardless of where they may live, including the costs of resettling them if this is to take place. There were no serious disagreements. One would think that the treaty between Russia and the Baltic republics will be concluded soon. And without these horizontal treaties it is impossible to seriously approach a Unionwide agreement.

Popov, Sobchak Announce Party Resignation

90UN2434B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 29, 21-27 Jul 90 p 2

[Statement by Gavriil Popov, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, and Anatoliy Sobchak, chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet]

[Text] The 28th CPSU Congress, in which the party and people placed such hopes, demonstrated the complete inability of the CPSU to offer the country a realistic program for changing over to a new society.

The majority of congress delegates refused to support what had already been supported by all the people: a rejection of class hostility, priority of common human values, a changeover to a market economy, and a diversity of forms of ownership, including private property of the citizens, a decisive democratization of the party, a rejection of the monopoly of the CPSU on the mass media, a transfer of all power to the soviets, and the transfer of a large share of state and party property to the citizens. The congress rejected factions and kept the principle of democratic centralism in effect in the party.

Under these conditions only democratically elected soviets can be organizers of real perestroyka. Exceptional responsibility lies with the leaders of the new soviets.

Recognizing our responsibility to the people and to history, in the situation that has been created we have made a decision to leave the CPSU in order to contribute to the creation of a multiparty system and have the opportunity to lead more effectively the soviets we head.

We call for the leaders of soviets of all levels to refrain from entering one of the political parties.

[Signed]**Chairman of the Moscow City Soviet Gavriil Popov**
[Signed]**Chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet Anatoliy Sobchak**

Moscow Gorispolkom Chairman Interviewed

PM2507140990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Yu. Luzhkov, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, by I. Demchenko; place and date not given: "The 100 First Days"]

[Text] [Demchenko] Yuriy Mikhaylovich, 100 days ago you were appointed first as acting chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom [City Soviet Executive Committee] and then confirmed in that post. Traditionally 100 days are a test period for a leader. What do you regard asr your success in this time?

[Luzhkov] There have been no successes. Not one.

[Demchenko] What has not succeeded?

[Luzhkov] It has all failed to succeed. Moscow is a city with enormous inertia. That can rapidly destroy the

economy. But it is impossible to set something up, to obtain any graphically expressed results in that time. In addition to innovations, you also have simply to maintain the life of the city daily at least at its former level. About 90 percent of my time is taken up with the ticking over of the city mechanism.

[Demchenko] You are not new to the Moscow Gorispolkom: You have worked as first deputy chairman since 1987. Have you made any unpleasant discoveries since being appointed to your present post?

[Luzhkov] Perhaps the most unpleasant thing I have had to encounter has been the situation of dual sovereignty—city and rayon sovereignty—on the capital's territory. In an attempt to assert their power functions the rayon soviets sometimes display small-scale egotism which I believe the comrades who elaborated the present structure for the organs of Soviet power in the cities could not even have imagined. I realize that sometimes the rayon soviets lack the potential or knowledge to implement any serious innovations. On the other hand they have enough strength and confidence to halt construction sites or delay the implementation of citywide programs, and as a rule this is dictated exclusively by the desire to demonstrate their power. Unless we resolve this question in the very near future the city will simply be split into 33 pieces and will perish.

[Demchenko] And how are functions shared at your level of power between the Moscow Gorispolkom and the Moscow City Soviet?

[Luzhkov] In the normal way. The Soviet takes decisions and the Moscow Gorispolkom organizes their execution.

[Demchenko] It is no secret that many of our troubles have stemmed from the fact that for decades a secondary role was assigned to the economy. It was subordinated to politics, serving ambitions of a local, all-Union, and even international scale. Naturally, the capital suffered particularly from this. But the present Moscow Soviet is for the first time in many years headed by a professional economist who has the support of the overwhelming majority of deputies. As a result, has the Moscow Soviet's policy begun to change?

[Luzhkov] Radically. If we are speaking of its general avenues, they are well known: demonopolization and destatization of property and its transfer to private and collective ownership. All this is being done from conditions of economic expediency.

Everything is interconnected in an economy, especially one that is working under strain like ours. Any mistake can lead to a violation of balance and failures of a kind from which you cannot extricate yourself for decades. We did not make mistakes in trivial matters but in the very principles of forming the economic system. Here is just one example showing where the desire to concentrate resources in the state's hands has led.

Throughout the world a system has been adopted for supplying large cities with fruit and vegetables which provides for the producer to store the produce. But for many years we approached the producer with distrust and organized our relations with him like this: The results of the peasant's labor had to be taken from him as soon as possible, brought to the city, and laid in for the winter there..

[Demchenko] What, would he dig the potatoes and apples into the ground otherwise?

[Luzhkov] Exactly! We lived according to the laws of war communism. We created in the capital the world's largest storehouse for fruit and vegetables in which 1.14 million tonnes of output was laid in every year. And what did we achieve as a result? First we relieved the peasants of the need to be concerned for safekeeping, for seed growing, or the selection of strains which keep well. He has harvested the produce and sent it off to the city and forgotten to think about it. But our storehouse has become a gigantic compost heap for agricultural output. I do not even mention the fact that about 100,000 tonnes of soil brought in with the vegetables collects at Moscow's vegetable bases. This soil is naturally not returned to the fields but goes on the garbage heaps. Substandard output could have been given to feed the livestock in the countryside—once again we send it to the garbage heap. And everyone is busy: People are fully occupied, transport cruises here and there, yet efficiency is zero. And in addition there is an insanitary situation in the city as a result. After all that is only one particular case, so to speak, of political violence against the economy.

Only in the past year have storehouses with a capacity of 100,000 tonnes been constructed for producers in Moscow Oblast at the initiative of the Moscow City Soviet.

The Moscow Soviet is now engaged in creating an infrastructure making it possible for the market economy to develop. IZVESTIYA has already described many of its undertakings in this matter so I shall simply give an outline of them. We are creating a commodity exchange which will enable small entrepreneurs to obtain material resources without any funds or quotas. We are creating a Moscow trade center making it possible to set up foreign economic ties. Next is a labor exchange which, although it has a strange name, is in fact an effective means for the rational utilization of the city's labor resources—so that we should not have any losses in the perestroyka of economic relations. We have adopted a fundamental decision on the transfer of housing to the ownership of the population and on the transfer of trade and services establishments and organizations to the ownership of collectives and individuals.

This will enable us not only to interest people in the results of labor but also to tie down at least some part of the loose money not backed up by goods which will stop exciting the consumer market. By the end of July all

these programs will have been elaborated to the level of decisions and we shall begin their implementation.

[Demchenko] Yuriy Mikhaylovich, as far as I know individual oblasts and republics are now leveling serious complaints against Moscow. It seems to many people that through their passports and future ration cards Muscovites are living in luxury while the whole country is rushing about in search of basic goods. From outside it is simply difficult to imagine the frightening emptiness of the capital's store shelves. How are relations forming with the consumers of the output of the capital's enterprises and with its suppliers?

[Luzhkov] Moscow has now found itself in a very complex situation with regard to goods provision. The food resources situation is particularly alarming. Cucumbers and potatoes do not grow on asphalt, we have to buy them. But the ruble is working badly. Increasingly frequently suppliers are demand specific goods in exchange for their out. But Moscow, while producing a large quantity of production and technical output and consumer goods, hands virtually all of it over as a state order. Some things are simply taken away completely. That is why, in continuing to meet our commitments to consumers, we are obliged to face the Union government with the question of leaving a specific proportion—12.5 percent of the state order for output produced in the city—at our disposal. We will sell some of it through trade and some will go in exchanges with other cities, oblasts, and republics. I realize that from the economic viewpoint this is a step backward but in the present situation there is no other way out.

[Demchenko] Moscow's prosperity has always depended on the good will of the central authorities since the city budget has been formed almost exclusively through centralized funds. As of this year the city budget had a deficit of 116 million rubles [R].

[Luzhkov] Taking into account the rayon budgets as of the start of this year the deficit was R265 million.

[Demchenko] All the more so! How are you thinking of emerging from the situation?

[Luzhkov] The funds which are lacking can and must be earned. The city and the municipality must live not by handouts from the government but by obtaining revenue from taxes and services provided by Moscow. The city must receive a tax on land, a tax on property located on that land, and a tax on the profits of enterprises, organizations, and systems inside the city limits. The capital can also earn money by attracting capital, including foreign capital—through interest rates that will be more liberal than in other capitals. And this art of management which we will have to master is absolutely new for us.

[Demchenko] Somehow it is even unusual to hear that a municipality has no material claims, requests, or wishes to put to the central authorities.

[Luzhkov] There are still some. If the USSR and Russian Supreme Soviets still believe that the city must fulfill the functions of a capital they will have to subsidize the maintenance of these functions. I repeat that we can earn all the remaining funds independently.

[Demchenko] I imagine how hard it will be to do that. For decades we have taken pride in the fact that Moscow is not only our motherland's capital but also a very large industrial and scientific center and even an international crossroads. The city is filled with industrial enterprises with a large proportion of heavy industry and defense. Many plants and associations have for years only devoured all types of resources while contributing nothing to the city budget and without giving Muscovites the output they need. Can the Moscow Gorispolkom deal with them?

[Luzhkov] But we do not need to deal with anyone. Not in the former "pressurizing" style. I am against even raising the question of such pressure. Let them work to their heart's content. We shall exert influence on them through a system of taxes, encouraging the production of the output we need, the rational use of resources, including manpower resources, the development of the structures the city needs, and, conversely, the withdrawal from the capital of those production facilities which do not fit into its structure or do not accord with its needs.

At present, it is true, we have been obliged to reaffirm an administrative ban on the importation of workers from outside the city into Moscow. We realize it would be better if natural regulators operated. If every director knew that when necessary he could take on someone from another city. But that would be destructively costly.

[Demchenko] But what about plants like the Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plant and the Lenin Komsomol Motor Vehicle Plant for instance? In my opinion they are organized in such a way that they cannot exist in principle without the constant recruitment of outside manpower. I remember when B. Yeltsin, as first secretary of the Moscow CPSU City Committee, conducted the first offensive on the importation of outside workers into Moscow there was constant groaning among the economic leaders: There is a shortage of manpower, make an exception at least this time...

[Luzhkov] But I think that these and other enterprises can manage with their own forces. You only have to pay workers normally for them to want to work there. Nothing so corrupts leaders as outside workers. Instead of engaging in the rationalization of production, the improvement of the organization of labor, and the solution of social questions, it is simpler to invite people in and organize a peaceful life for yourself for a while. Outside workers initially demand nothing, make no claims, they are happy enough to have gotten into Moscow. How many years we have been inviting them, but has it resolved the production problems at the

Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plant or Lenin Komsomol Plant? On the contrary, the city's problems have invariably increased.

Moscow today has reached the level of the year 2000 in terms of population size. By that time we should have developed a corresponding infrastructure: trade, housing, services sphere, maintenance of law and order, and so forth. And we have not succeeded in doing anything. That is one more reason for the complex state of the city economy.

Now about what we have already started to do. First of all we have succeeded in improving the road repair situation. The Petrozavodsk "Stroitel" cooperative headed by the well known entrepreneur V. Tumanov is working on the ringroad. The "Avtodor" state association has also begun to work markedly more quickly, obviously through the impact of the cooperative members but also as a result of the use of a new system of organizing and paying for labor.

I am sure that matters relating to garbage collection will be set to rights soon. As of 1 August we are announcing competitions in Moscow for the posts of yardmen who will now work under contract. The yardman's labor will be paid very highly, depending on the results and if the contract terms are observed, of course. This system has already been elaborated in full.

We have succeeded in setting to rights the capital repair of apartment blocks and halting the devastation of the city center. Formerly, on the pretext of modernizing it, indigenous Muscovites were moved whole apartment blocks at a time to the outskirts. As a result there are 600,000 square meters of housing empty in the city center. We are working on returning this housing to the housing stock.

[Demchenko] Will the city's appearance change in some global way?

[Luzhkov] I think that is essential. To this day Moscow has no clearly expressed capital structures: no administrative, banking, international, legal, and business centers. On the one hand we have a quite powerful overpreponderance of industry, which makes Moscow ecologically and in many other respects a very inconvenient place to live and on the other hand no milieu has been created enabling the city to fulfill its functions purely as a capital without strain.

We have already determined the path along which Moscow's development should proceed in order to rectify these deformations. We still have to elaborate a detailed concept and embark on its implementation. But that is a separate matter.

Polozkov Has Meeting With APN Journalists

PM2407150190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Jul 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Pursuing the Policy of Renewal"]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jul—A meeting was held today at the APN political club between the collective of the agency and I.K. Polozkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee.

He shared his impressions on the work of the 28th CPSU Congress and its results. The main thing, he noted, is that the congress implemented the goals that had been set for it and that the policy of further perestroyka and the renewal of society's life was approved.

I.K. Polozkov spoke about the history of the creation of the RSFSR Communist Party and its aims and tasks. He dwelt on progress in preparing for the second stage of the Communist Party Congress.

The Politburo member answered questions.

Lezgin Movement Constituent Congress Held

PM2607085590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Ali Kazikhanov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Lezgins' Congress"]

[Text] Makhachkala—The constituent congress of the Lezgin "Sadval" ("Unity") democratic movement has been held in Belidzhi settlement, Derbentskiy Rayon, Dagestan.

The Lezgins are one of the peoples of the North Caucasus. About 300,000 of them inhabit South Dagestan and over 400,000 neighboring Azerbaijan.

"For many years our people have been divided between an autonomous republic and a Union republic," journalist R. Ramazanov, a member of the organizational committee for holding the congress, told me. "And that is why we have been deprived of the opportunity to develop our culture and economy on a unified basis. Moreover, while in Dagestan we have been granted our constitutional rights to the full, in the neighboring republic we have been deprived of this. The immediate aims the movement sets are to elaborate acceptable decisions for ways for the Lezgins to unite and to send these decisions to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic parliaments."

Krasnodar Kray To Elect Polozkov's Replacement

LD2507174290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Today a plenum of the kray's party committee was held in Krasnodar, at which the order of preparations for the kray report-back and election party conference were discussed. At the plenum an organizational issue was examined. In connection with the election of Polozkov as first secretary of the Central Committee of

the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party, he is released from his duties as first secretary of the Krasnodar Kray Party Committee. A decision has been adopted to conduct elections for first secretary in the near future at the kray party conference.

It has been proposed that all communists of the Kuban should nominate their candidates.

Dagestan Quarries Cause Environmental Problems

PM2607094590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Report by D. Beybutov and V. Mamiyev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] As the saying goes—we do not treasure what we have, but when we have lost it, we cry. Unfortunately, this saying applies to the general ecological situation in our country. And Dagestan is no exception.

[Correspondent] "Everything, everything is beautiful in this region." Well said, but unfortunately Lermontov said that a long time ago. When the unique nature of this region is discussed today, it is not so much a subject for lyricists as for investigative journalists who should sit down and describe what is being done to this part of the world between the Caspian and the peaks of the Caucasus.

There is no need to go far for evidence. It is enough to take a walk around Makhachkala and its surroundings in order to see and appreciate how unscrupulously nature's riches are being treated throughout the republic.

The sea and the Tarki-Tau range, which rises 700 meters above the capital of Dagestan like a protective wall, are a true gift of the gods and a salvation for the 300,000-strong population of this southern city. The inhabitants of Makhachkala describe the mountain range as an oxygen factory and the lungs of the city.

But someone decided to quarry stone for construction purposes precisely here. And the industry developed to such an extent over the past quarter of a century that it was difficult to halt this process. Literally a few days ago the hoppers on this cableway came to a standstill. [video shows cableway] Stone quarrying has finally been discontinued. The ravaged land is now to be recultivated at the cost of tens of thousands of rubles. But will the springs start flowing again in Tarki-Tau? While one stone quarry has been closed down on the plateau, another is being developed with redoubled zeal on the northwest slope of the mountain. It is a complete paradox. While this slope is being ruthlessly destroyed, attempts are being made, at tremendous cost and labor, to grow pine terraces on the opposite, southeastern, slope. [video shows terraces]

And there is another point. Who is responsible for the fact that asphalt factories are belching smoke around the Tarki-Tau and that oil workers are working in such close proximity? Has nothing been learned from the accidents which occurred in spring of this year at the Dmitriyevskoye deposit near Makhachkala? Who is to answer these questions? Both the Makhachkala city authorities and the Dagestan republican organs. They all have the Tarki-Tau before their very eyes.

Power Station's Problems May Spur Energy Crisis

PM2507143390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Report by Yu. Kurmyshev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Another crisis is threatening to join the long and varied list of crises besetting our country—an energy crisis. I hasten to add that the area threatened is the Chukotka region beyond the Arctic Circle. Despite the local nature of this potential crisis, its consequences could inflict serious damage on the national economy and of course on the people who live and work in this area with a harsh climate.

[Correspondent] The "Severnoye Siyaniye" floating power station cannot, of course, be described as one of the giants of the power industry. But for the Chukotka region beyond the Polar Circle—a zone of intensive exploitation of mineral deposits—it is of exceptional importance. Its capacity, especially during the peak summer period, is sufficient to cover the energy reguirement of the entire Mys Shmidta area and ensure normal working conditions for its main clients. [video shows exterior and interior of station and staff at work] The station is a profitable venture—quite rare for this kind of enterprise—with annual profits topping 1 million rubles. Everything would be fine, but the collective is troubled by uncertainty.

The problems started two years ago, when the head association—"Soyuztransenergo"—deprived the station of its independence and decided arbitrarily to make it part of the "Energokompleks-1" cooperative, which is located thousands of miles away from the Arctic shores, in Moscow.

[L.T. Prikhodko, station director] The collective went to great trouble to defend their rights and this decision has now been rescinded. The collective, seeking to switch to more progressive forms of management, would like to take up leasing. However, here we are running into new problems. Our main gas-turbine engines which run on liquid fuel will reach the end of their lifetime in 1992. No such engines are being produced in the country at present. Thus the station is under a real threat of grinding to a halt.

[Correspondent] This is causing a real threat of an energy crisis in this part of Chukotka, which is inhabited by tens of thousands of people and where major mining enterprises are located.

[N.I. Golubeva, chairman of the labor collective council] The Council of Ministers and the central departments are not just refusing to help us find a way out of the impasse, they are putting the socioeconomic development of the whole region in jeopardy.

[Announcer] I would like to tell the inhabitants of Chukotka that the problem of retooling the floating power station is being examined at the USSR Ministry of Power and the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee]. I inquired about this. We hope that the problem will be resolved. The aforementioned high authorities will not allow an energy crisis to break out in Chukotka. The "Vremya" program will monitor the handling of this issue.

New Paper Published in Magadan City

LD2507222690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2100 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Our bulletin concludes with a report from Magadan. A new newspaper, VECHERNIY MAGADAN, of the city soviet of people's deputies has appeared here. It is being published on a commercial basis on the principle of self-financing. Apart from the city soviet, its founders include enterprises and organizations of the oblast center. The first issue of the oblast soviet is being prepared for publication: It will have a rather unusual title TERRITORIYA.

Western Republics

Belorussia Bans Changes To Constitutional System

LD2507145490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Sessions of the Supreme Soviets of Armenia and Belorussia are continuing in Yerevan and Minsk. Armenian parliamentarians are examining the issue of forming an agenda and approving a temporary standing order. Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia today succeeded, though only at the third attempt, in adopting a new edition of Article Seven of the republic's constitution. The article now stipulates that the establishment and activities of political parties, public organizations, and mass movements that are aimed at the forcible alteration of the Soviet consitutional system and that act against the integrity and security of the republic and against the constitutional rights and freedoms of its citizens are prohibited in the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

26 Jul Belorussian Supreme Soviet Session Viewed

Sovereignty Discussed

LD2607101490

[Editorial Report] Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian at 0830 GMT on 26 July is monitored in progress carrying a live relay of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet session in Minsk. The Supreme Soviet is discussing the draft sovereignty declaration. The document is being discussed article by article. Amendments are being read and then the chairman puts them to the vote.

The draft declaration proposes to call Belorussia the Belorussian Republic. By a majority of votes, the Supreme Soviet changes it back to the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

At 0840 GMT, the article on national symbols is discussed. The deputies are to choose between two different versions. One reads: Belorussia has its own anthem, coat of arms, and national flag. The second: Belorussia has a state anthem, flag, etc. The deputies vote to approve the latter.

At 0850 GMT, the deputies discuss an article stating that violent actions by any political party or public organization on the territory of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, or their interference into the business of the republican government is to be outlawed and their perpetrators punished. A vote is taken and the article is passed by a majority.

At 0900 GMT, the chairman announces a 30-minute break.

Debate Definitions of Terms

LD2607112390

[Editorial Report] Minsk Domeetic Service in Belorussian at 0935 GMT on 26 July resumes its broadcast of a live relay of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet session in Minsk.

At this time, the session resumes its work after the break. The chairman announces that 265 deputies are present.

A deputy then lodges a protest in connection with a violation of procedures. He says that certain deputies are absent but their names are on the registration list and their votes are used. He reads the names of the absentees—eight of them. The matter is passed to the appropriate commission.

At 0945 GMT, discussion begins on the meaning of the terms sovereignty, independence, and declaration. There is a sharp dispute among several speakers about whether the declaration on state sovereignty is really necessary, since the Constitution already state that the republic's sovereignty and its United Nations membership derives from it. After further discussion, since no ammendment gathered enough votes, the article is returned back to the commission.

At 1005 GMT, discussion begins on the article of the draft soverereignty declaration on people's power in the republic. All agree that no one except the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic can represent or speak on behalf of the people of Belorussia.

At 1010 GMT, discussion begins on the article on state power. After lively exchanges, it is returned back to the commission.

At 1025 GMT, the article on economic independence is discussed: What is to be owned by the republic, organizations, and individuals; how much of the all-Union property belongs to Belorussia on its own territory and in other republics. The radical phrasing of this article, submitted by the opposition, is rejected by a majority. The article is passed as originally in the draft.

At 1045 GMT, discussion begins on whether property of other Union republics and of foreign states can be deployed in Belorussia only with the permission of its government. The article is rejected and returned to the commission.

At 1050 GMT, discussion begins on the article concerning Belorussia's own money. Those disagreeing with the idea are in a majority. They say that each republic having its own banknotes will make life difficult for all living in a new Soviet confederation. A vote will be taken after the break.

At 1100 GMT, a break is declared until 1300 GMT.

Belorussian Ministerial Candidates Rejected

PM2507151590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Nikolay Matukovskiy: "Crisis Situation in Parliament"]

[Text] Minsk—A conflict situation has arisen in the Belorussian parliament or to be more precise in the parliament's relations with V. Kebich, recently appointed chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers.

Vyacheslav Kebich was appointed almost unanimously without an alternative candidate. It seemed that even his first steps to form a government would receive just as unanimous support but something inexplicable happened. The Supreme Soviet began, as harmoniously as it had approved the chairman of the Council of Ministers, to "come down on" the candidacies he suggested for the posts of members of government. The first to be "failed" was the candidacy of N. Kostikov, whom the chairman intended as his first deputy. Then the same fate overtook another too deputy chairmen.

It seemed that the chairman was shaken, and with good reason—such distrust on parliament's part at the first stage. When the people's deputies "failed" a further five candidates for ministerial posts proposed by the chairman, a crisis began to develop in parliament. There was a moment when V. Kebich, before proposing a new candidate (who was also "failed!"), said: "Now I am thinking about when to announce my retirement—now or a little later?"

The deputies are undoubtedly free to choose, to vote one way and no other. But sometimes you form the impression that the parliamentarians are obeying not state interests nor even common sense but their own unrestricted rights. The point is that the candidacies proposed by the chairman are being rejected without any serious arguments. Surely the statement "trade is operating badly in my rayon" or "few timber materials have been allocated to our rayon" cannot be considered an argument? But arguments of approximately this kind were used to strike down the candidate trade minister and the candidate timber industry minister. And even "arguments" of that kind were not advanced against some candidates. Not a single objection and... black marks.

A very delicate situation has arisen. What is the Council of Ministers chairman to do: announce his resignation? Resubmit the rejected candidacies? Or choose other people who would suit the parliament?

Incidentally, all the rejected candidates passed through the crucible of the standing commissions, but even that did not help. The deputies no longer trust the commissions. Who then do they believe?

Lvov Railwaymen Declare Solidarity With Miners

LD2507131390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 25 Jul 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The conference of the Lvov section of the independent union of railway workers has submitted an appeal to the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, demanding the nationalization of all railway transport and its removal from all-union jurisdiction. Lvov railwaymen also declared their solidarity with the miners, regarding the miners' demands as wholly justified.

Gurenko Views on Party, Other Issues

90UN2250B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 17 Jun 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Stanislav Ivanovich Gurenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee second secretary and Ukrainian SSR people's deputy, by parliamentary correspondent V. Nikipelov; place and date not given: "Is It Easy To Be the Ruling Party?"]

[Text] [Nikipelov] How do you assess the first stage of work at the session? Which factors evoked a feeling of satisfaction and which displeased you?

[Gurenko] Those who entered parliament with the one aim of defeating their political opponents and rapidly achieving some kind of simple results and thus effectively asserting themselves are today disillusioned. At the same time, qualitative changes have taken place in the positions of many of those who are acting vigorously in this parliamentary session. This can undoubtedly be assigned to the category of achievements. At the same

time, the red tape and the time being wasted by some groups of deputies are also obvious. And the unconstructive criticism of the Communist Party and communists is also a cause of annoyance. But obviously it is still too early to drawn any profound conclusions.

[Nikipelov] In other words, people with differing political views have started to "settle in"?

[Gurenko] I would use another term here, from technology—alignment. This dynamic equilibrium is necessary for all moving parts of mechanisms, otherwise they will be ruined. So today our Supreme Soviet is undergoing dynamic balancing, if I may use the expression. And these latest days in its work have shown that certain changes are taking place in this regard. And this is gratifying because much work lies ahead—forming a government, making legislative enactments, adopting a declaration on republic sovereignty...

[Nikipelov] And how do you visualize the Ukraine's economic and political sovereignty?

[Gurenko] The problems of sovereignty are the point of departure for all the present policy of the Ukrainian Communist Party. We believe that full-fledged socioeconomic development of the republic, and preservation and development of the culture, language, national dignity, and existence of the Ukrainian people are possible only on the basis of real sovereignty for the Ukrainian SSR. The people of the Ukraine should be the rightful masters of their own land.

The Ukrainian Communist Party also advocates elimination of the monopoly power of the all-Union departments, decentralization of the economy, and strengthening the independence of the labor collectives in economic activity. The Soviet Ukraine should be a member of the United Nations, should have the right to enter into direct contact and trade agreements with countries abroad, and should have its own fully empowered representatives.

We shall wage an uncompromising struggle against any attempts to separate the Ukraine from the Union, and against trends leading to political and economic isolation. We favor the conclusion of a new Union treaty, as was discussed at the final session of the Council of the Federation, and also the strengthening of mutually advantageous links with the Union republics.

[Nikipelov] What is your attitude toward combining state and party posts?

[Gurenko] We have become accustomed to regarding this issue from only one viewpoint, namely, eliminating the total power of the party apparatus and transferring power to the soviets. But today we must proceed on the basis of the new situation—the actual emergence of a multiparty system. Accordingly, when resolving the question of combining posts we must proceed in each specific case, at the city, rayon, or oblast level, from the interests of the party: Will this kind of cross-utilization of labor promote strengthening the positions of the party or not? And the question of combining the highest government post in the republic and the highest post in the Ukrainian Communist Party will, as is known, be decided at the 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress.

[Nikipelov] Here at the session we have heard statements about suspension of party membership or even resignation from the party during time spent working in government organs...

[Gurenko] To be candid, I do not believe in the sincerity of such steps. I cannot imagine how a true communist could suspend his world outlook convictions along with his party membership.

[Nikipelov] Today many are concerned about the fate of our party, and it is also understandable that millions of people are waiting impatiently to see what the communists will say and decide at their party forums. What is your attitude as you go into the congress?

[Gurenko] Anxiety and optimism. Anxiety about the fate of the party, but still optimism in assessing its future. I am confident that the enormous experience of work with people in the most complex historical periods in the life of our country will enable the party to pass through all these present trials and come out of them qualitatively renewed.

[Nikipelov] What transformations are needed for the party to regain its prestige among the people?

[Gurenko] I emphasize two factors. First it is essential that no party member should feel like an outsider in his own party organization, and that everyone be involved in devising party policy and policy implementation.

And second, the party will regain its prestige among the people only when it begins to live for their interests. It must propose the kind of policy in the fields of the economy, culture, science, education, the social spheres of life, and language as will be attractive literally for every inhabitant of the republic and country.

[Nikipelov] But it is no secret that for many years party workers of various rank worked, let us say, in hothouse conditions with a total absence of political struggle, and now they are sometimes unprepared to defend the interests of the party effectively in controversy with ideological enemies...

[Gurenko] I do not fully agree with you, pardon me, with the way you have posed the question. When we talk about "hothouse conditions," some readers will perceive this immediately from the viewpoint of existing and nonexisting privileges that party workers enjoy. I would rather say "under conditions of political comfort." I emphasize political. Alas, in the history of our country and party there have been long periods when the party did not have political enemies, when as a rule political opponents were suppressed. Under such conditions there

was no requirement for the character of a fighter, and the ability to execute orders was most highly regarded.

History contains numerous examples of party workers suddenly disappearing from the horizon after some original piece had been published or a speech made, which were in most cases merely a display of their own viewpoint on some particular issue.

What is needed today to raise the political fighter? I think that we must start with one basic thing, namely, learn to listen to each other and respect the other's opinion, no matter how unpleasant it may be. We need to select fellow-thinkers for the party, those who are convinced of our political ideals. Here it is also a matter of socialist choice in development, and of the communist perspective, which each of us understands in a different way. But it is necessary for people to be convinced of this. Then there will be a spirit of comradeship in the party and different viewpoints will be displayed. There will also be room and conditions for discussions in which the speakers can be chosen. Already today we must start to train cadres who in time will become our replacements in the party committees, right up as high as the Central Committee.

[Nikipelov] After what has been said, I would be interested in hearing your opinion on the "Democratic Platform."

[Gurenko] I hate to repeat myself, but as a program document it is too fragmented and superficial. Measures to democratize internal party life have been worked out in it in great detail. Some of the provisions are also included in the documents of our congresses. We also agree with those supporters of the "Democratic Platform" who believe that ideological unity in the party is possible on the basis of those principles of Leninism that have withstood the test of time. Incidentally, we recently had a meeting in the Central Committee with the representatives of the coordinating committee for the "Democratic Platform in the Ukrainian Communist Party." It is common knowledge that the document they had prepared was published in the press.

At the same time there is no way to agree with that part of the platform which sets forth the proposals on the organizational structure for the party, which will ultimately lead to the elimination of the party. In this connection the question arises of the CPSU Central Committee Letter and the resolution of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee March Plenum on matters pertaining to party unity, which have received an unambiguous reception.

I believe that there should not be any kind of persecution for thinking differently. But at the same time it is impossible to reconcile ourselves to those who through their actions are leading to a split; they should be expelled from the party.

[Nikipelov] The following question is now often heard: "Well, has your party given you much?" And how do you answer this?

[Gurenko] I was shaped as a communist and a specialist in one of the party organizations of the Donbass. There I learned the true value of party comradeship. And I have always tried to follow this principle no matter where I may have been working. But I have never engaged in trying to balance what I have given to the party and what it has given to me. It is another question that has always worried me: Have I done everything that I could have, everything I was capable of? Have I deserved the reproach that I did not "carry it through" to a conclusion?

[Nikipelov] How will the party press be redistributed?

[Gurenko] This important and complex issue will undoubtedly occupy a major place in the work of the republic and all-Union party forums. For under the conditions of a multiparty system the press organs will no longer be the spokesmen for the views of and those defending the interests of particular political and public organizations. It is therefore quite legitimate to raise the question of banning journalists from working in the party communist press if they publish pieces that support groupings hostile to the party.

Undoubtedly the structure of the press in the republic will be improved. It has already been said that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet should have an independent press organ, along with the Council of Ministers and some of the public organizations. I think that after publication of the all-Union Law on the Press some such legislation will be adopted here in the republic, after which all questions should finally be settled.

[Nikipelov] It has now become axiomatic that the party was the initiator of perestroyka. But somehow we also hear in this a little voice of the "initiator" saying that it was simply forced into it...

[Gurenko] What does this mean, forced? I would put it differently: The party studied the objective status of society and deemed it necessary to offer some initiative. Why not think of it like that? But you know that by having a certain experience of work as a USSR people's deputy, and now as a deputy of the Ukrainian SSR, in these new Soviet parliamentary constructs I have become less worried about the question of priorities. We must cast these political ambitions aside, their time is past. Now every serious politician must primarily value the reality and possibility of resolving a matter quickly.

[Nikipelov] In fact we have entered the phase of the multiparty system. How do you see the coexistence of committees of the various parties at the enterprises? Will they not interfere with production itself?

[Gurenko] You know, in our times predictions are very thankless things. And in asking this question our opponents often believe that if they are accommodated there

the communists will remove their own headquarters now, today. But I believe that we should return to the question when all these parties have been as real as the Communist Party. I am against artificially providing equal conditions for the Communist Party and for parties that do not yet actually exist. But if parties with an anticonstitutional leaning emerge I think that they should not accommodated, either in the enterprises or in our society.

[Nikipelov] I have the impression that periodically the party is allowing certain miscalculations in the assessment of possible scenarios for the way in which future events will unfold...

[Gurenko] With respect to poorly used predictive functions you are right. We are now doing a great deal of work on this question. But at one time the new shoots of this were trampled... During the 1960's, on the eve of the period of stagnation, these matters were seriously engaged and steps were even taken to study the experience of a number of other parties, including bourgeois parties. A study was made of the experience of foreign political experts and very serious recommendations were drawn up, but then came 1964, and the years of stagnation inflicted a major blow on the party.

[Nikipelov] But life shows that unfortunate decisions have also been made recently—during the years of perestroyka. But alas! sometimes people are reluctant to admit their own mistakes...

[Gurenko] I agree that particular decisions reached during the period of perestroyka need to be rescinded today. But I think that given all the different assessments of the personality of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR president, we cannot deny him his common sense, sense of purpose and, I would say, conceptual thrust precisely toward the restructuring of our society. And at the various stages, when the consequences of particular actions by the government and party Central Committee have become obvious, he has expressed the interesting, and in my opinion correct, thought that the root of everything is that we are the children of our times. We are all children of the times. We cannot have "sterile," correct figures who would rapidly be able to set things to rights, including in the party. Ultimately everything is connected with the personality...

The personality... Did you know what they were saying during the 1960's? The cult is defeated, but its servants have remained. When any epoch ends, people are still there. But the most important problem in perestroyka is perestroyka of the individual. For today, each of us needs his own perestroyka. And this is not only a concept but the sum of the tasks that face each of us.

[Nikipelov] But here, the question that begs to be asked is so obvious, is rotation among the upper echelons of power...

[Gurenko] Without doubt. I must say that in my opinion the essential mistake in our upper echelon of power is that a priori we have all been treated as supporters of perestroyka. I believe that some average percentage of perestroyka people are about equal at the various levels. But the effect is different. For even the smallest mistake from above often results in major harm. And powerful actions from the bottom are carried upward like a light wind. This is the real misfortune. In our principle of democratic centralism, as before, there is much centralism and little democracy. And democracy in fact. This is our greatest misfortune. And here we must all learn together.

There is no need to think that if we replace the leadership at any level, tomorrow life will be different. I do not believe this, and I fear this premise most of all. As if all our reforming had led only to an attempt to change particular political leaders indiscriminately, even though some do need to be changed. But to replace them indiscriminately now only because we are living poorly is just a waste of time. For it is naive to expect that new people could make our lives better.

Ukraine Leader Views Sovereignty, Union Treaty

LD2507153490 Kiev International Service in English 2300 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Interview with Ukraine Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk; place and date not given—recorded; in Russian with superimposed English translation]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Kravchuk] The chairman of the Supreme Soviet should find solutions in such a non-uniform parliament as ours, so as to avoid confrontation, because if there are 450 different views in the parliament, then outside its walls there are millions. This should be taken into account. I don't see anything bad in the fact that there are people with different political views at the Ukraine's parliament; probably this very fact allows to work out documents which comply with the interests of the entire nation. I think we lost many things while we were unanimous in our opinion and voted automatically for this or that decision. This is one of the losses of the stagnation period and the entire distortion of our society, our life and human consciousness. This is the root of many evils and problems.

We adopted the declaration of the Ukraine's sovereignty, which is the most important document. Three more draft documents are being prepared now. The first one is the decree on power, which should be discussed and adopted because it stems from the declaration. The second one is the large scale document, I mean the constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. There will be a concept of a constitution, that as draft will be submitted for the nationwide discussion, and only after that it will be adopted by the Supreme Soviet.

The third document deals with our approaches to the new Union treaty. Concerning this document, I have quite a clear-cut idea. The Union treaty, our approaches

to it must be worked out here, at our parliament, so that no one could even make a hint that this treaty is imposed upon our republic. Here we must decide upon this issue and then submit our ideas to Moscow. It should be a delegation with its own concept of the problem, able to defend it.

If all the republics do this way, they will not have this treaty imposed upon them. Only after we work out our approaches and strategic (?plans) in our work, we can arrive at certain conclusions. I think we shall get consolidated around these documents, the way we did around the declaration on the Ukraine sovereignty, and of course we shall have to solve quite a few everyday problems, because people demand their immediate solution, they demand that their vital problems be solved without delay. This refers to food and consumer goods supply, the problems caused by the Chernobyl accident, other problems which have become quite urgent today. They should be solved without any procrastinations.

Confirmation of Ukraine Government Members

LD2507141290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] The confirmation of members of the government, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, ministers, and chairmen of state committees continued today at the session of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet. In accordance with the new structure of bodies of state management, their numbers are approximately one and a half times less than the compositon of the former government. The numbers of ministries and state committees have also been reduced.

New Ukrainian Party To Be Formed

PM2607100190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Tsikora under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Party Which Has No Name Yet"]

[Text] Kiev—An organizational committee has been created in Kiev to prepare and hold in the fall of this year the constituent congress of a new political party whose members share the tenets of the democratic platform in the Ukrainian Communist Party.

This decision was taken Sunday, 22 July, at a joint session of the Democratic Platform's coordinating council and its deputies' group in the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet with the participation of delegates to the Ukrainian Communist Party and CPSU congresses.

In giving the reason for their decision the participants in the conference noted that the retention of the principle of democratic centralism and the virtual ban on uniting according to platforms while the party apparatus retains its monopoly of the mass media has deprived the supporters of the Democratic Platform of their last hope of the CPSU's self-reformation.

Over a month ago—at the first stage of the Ukrainian Communist Party Congress—the left radical wing submitted a minimum program for the democratization of the Ukrainian Communist Party in the event of whose adoption the supporters of the Democratic Platform would have stayed in the party. Of the democrats' eight demands the republican party congress deputies rejected seven.

Assessing the results of the 28th CPSU Congress, the participants in the conference noted the start of a movement toward the party's renewal but unanimously assessed it as belated and inadequate. The conference urged the supporters of the Democratic Platform to continue the struggle for the nationalization of part of the property of the CPSU and the Ukrainian Communist Party, the elimination of party organs and organizations in the Armed Forces, KGB, Ministry of Internal Affairs, courts, and prosecutor's office, and the removal of the party committees' official status at enterprises and in organizations.

Among the future party's main principles and tasks the organizational committee for its creation cited the transition to a parliamentary rule-of-law state, the creation of dignified conditions for living and for the free development of the individual and each person's social protection, and the civilized solution of contradictions between the interests of various social groups on the basis of cooperation, collaboration, and human solidarity. It will not be a communist party, but nor will it be an anticommunist party, the organizational committee statement notes. We are prepared to cooperate with all democratic forces and suggest creating a party of broad democratic orientation, the organizational committee stressed.

Moldavia Parliament Debates Market Economy

LD2507195290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The parliament of the Republic of Moldova has continued its work after an interval of a month. Today the deputies discussed the concept for the republic's transition to a market economy.

[Correspondent I. Petkov] The whole parliament is assembled. This time the deputies have left none of their seats empty. An appeal the day before by Mircha Ion Snegur, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, who announced that the people are tired and are expecting practical actions, not division on grounds of nationality, also helped. Today's debate on the concept for the republic's transition to a market [economy] left no room for the quarrels which have already brought Moldova to a slump in its national income and economic development. What if we had to set off for the market with an empty pocket? The concept for the transition to it places paramount emphasis on decentralization of the economy, privatization of factories and even, to quote

from the document, the possibility that private entrepreneurs might lease individual collective farms. Moldova is becoming a republic of open doors for any entrepreneurial activity and capital, while at the same time deepening mutually advantageous economic ties with union republics and the country's market. A period of two to three years is defined as the period for the transition to it.

The agenda for plenary sessions also contains the Gagauz issue. The day before, having grown tired of waiting for their fate to be resolved in parliament, as an official document states, the more than 130,000 Gagauz people concentrated in the south of the republic held an extraordinary congress of their authorized representatives, at which they adopted the flag and coat of arms of an autonomous Gagauz republic with in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova and approved provisional regulations on the election of people's deputies of the new autonomous republic. [video shows parliament in session; demonstrators outside]

Caucasus

Azerbaijan President on Cooperation With Armenians

LD2507192990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], has appealed to the population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] calling upon them to restore cooperation between the Armenian and Azerbaijan population of the autonomous oblast.

Cooperation is the mutual guarantee of free national, cultural, and economic development for people of any nationality, as is the exclusion of nationalism and chauvinism, joint work on a new law on the status of the NKAO, the formation in the next few months of a party oblast committee, democratic elections to soviets of all levels and the rebirth of the oblast soviet and of the oblast executive committee, and the development of various forms of ownership on the territory of the NKAO.

Either we find a common language on our common land or we will be forced to apply the force of law of the Azerbaijan Republic, the president stressed.

Regardless of social standing and of past services, we will call to account all those who intend to continue to whip up interethnic strife. The president of Azerbaijan instructed the republican Interior Ministry and the republican organizational committee for the NKAO to clear the oblast of fighters. [passage omitted]

Rumored Plan to Deport Armenians From NKAO

Plan Denied

LD2507185190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] [Announcer] A TASS correspondent reports on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]:

The situation in the autonomous oblast is rather complex and contradictory. The Armenian population is still reluctant to get into contact with the republican organizational committee for the NKAO. Structures of power at the oblast level have not been restored here. The address by Balayan, USSR people's deputy, and Kocharyan, member of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, has had the effect of a detonated bomb. Citing Colonel Kovalev, chief of the Internal Affairs Directorate of the NKAO, the address says that Polyanichko, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, allegedly spoke about a forthcoming deportation of Armenians from the NKAO at one of the meetings. Speaking on the local radio, Colonel Kovalev categorically refuted conjectures about the deportation of the NKAO's Armenian population, which is supposedly being prepared and has caused an extremely negative reaction in the autonomous oblast and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and has been picked up by some foreign media.

The instability of the social and political situation affects the day-to-day situation in a most direct way. Illegal actions on an interethnic basis have become more frequent in the NKAO. However, Major General Malyushkin, commandant of the emergency region in the NKAO and the adjacent rayons of the Azerbaijan SSR, told a TASS correspondent that the situation in the region is under the full control by subunits of Internal Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and by law-enforcement bodies. The appeal to the population by the president of Azerbaijan has been distributed in the NKAO. In it Comrade Mutalibov calls for the restoration of cooperation between the Armenian and Azerbaijan populations of the autonomous oblast.

Background Viewed

NC2107183590 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] Yesterday it became known that USSR People's Deputy Zori Balayan and Robert Kocharyan, people's deputy of the Armenian Republic, have informed the Armenian Supreme Soviet that according to reliable information they have received, the Azerbaijani leadership is determined to expel the Armenians from Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast].

The Azerbaijani authorities have openly begun to implement the policy of the Turks, their blood-brothers, whose principle is: There can be no Armenian problem if there are no Armenians left. In 1915 more than 1.5 million

Armenians deported from the various provinces of western Armenia died in the scorching deserts of Ter-Zor from hunger, thirst, and torture. The Turkish authorities claimed they were deporting the Armenians to more secure regions in view of the ongoing war. Today the Turkish yataghan again hangs over Artskah and Armenia. However, the Azerbaijani authorities would not have dared to resort to such a move if they had not had protectors. Many facts confirm this: the massacres committed in Sumgait, Kirovabat, and Khanlar which went unpunished, the genocide in Baku, and the strange destruction of the Soviet-Iranian state border.

The Armenians of Artsakh, believing simple-mindedly in the democratization policy advertised worldwide, again raised their just voice and appealed to the Kremlin to restore historical justice. They called for the reunification of the Armenian region known as the NKAO with mother Armenia, which would remove a historical injustice. The result of that appeal is obvious: Troops armed to the teeth are stationed in the NKAO and are ensuring the isolation of the oblast both from Armenia and from the outside world in general. Moscow sees no alternative to the use of armed force to solve the Artsakh crisis, which Moscow itself created. After all, the NKAO could be cleared of Armenians only with the assistance of Soviet troops and through the declaration of a state of emergency and the introduction of curfew hours in Armenia.

In repeating the appeal made by Balayan and Kocharyan, we call on our dear listeners, on all our compatriots, on all persons of good will throughout the world, for whom the historical contribution of the Armenian people to world civilization has some slight importance, on all political and government functionaries worldwide, and on foreign governments to raise their resolute voice against this inhuman and illegal move, against the deportation of the Armenians of Artsakh, and against the violation of the national dignity of the Armenian people. The Armenian people will never succumb and will not bow to any oppression, because the path they have chosen is just.

[The same newscast also repeats a previously broadcast item on this subject which says in part: "USSR People's Deputy Zori Balayan and Armenian People's Deputy Robert Kocharyan in an appeal to the Armenian Supreme Soviet have stated: On 18 July 1990 at around 1600 Moscow time, the so-called organizational committee held a meeting in Stepanakert during which Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, announced the idea of deporting the Armenians of the NKAO. In Polyanichko's view, this should be carried out by buses and trains at the same time. Polyanichko made no effort to conceal the fact that this issue will be discussed at the republican Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in Baku. The deportation is proposed by the leadership of Azerbaijan as well as by the Popular Front. Hearing of this disgusting intrigue we contacted Kovalyov, the head of the NKAO Internal Affairs Department, on 19 July, who confirmed Polyanichko's remarks concerning the deportation of the Armenians of Artsakh."]

Azerbaijani, Armenian Interior Ministers Meet

NC2607082890 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Asadov, Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] minister of internal affairs, and Galustyan, Armenia SSR minister of internal affairs, met in Armenia's Idzhevanskiy Rayon on 23 July to examine ways to stabilize the situation in the two republics. Kirov, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, also participated in the meeting at which the two ministers exchanged information on the complex situation in the region and examined the efforts made to strengthen law and order and provide security for the people.

The two ministers briefed Kirov on the implementation of the 5 March USSR Supreme Soviet decision on the situation in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's and the measures required to normalize the situation in the region and on the fulfillment of the instructions issued by the USSR minister of internal affairs in that regard. Kirov put forward proposals on continuing the efforts to stabilize the situation.

Kirov and Asadov met with leading party and soviet officials of Kazakhskiy Rayon and with residents of the town of Barkhudarly on the same day. At these meetings, the people voiced their justified demands that the escalating terrorism be halted immediately and the organizers of and participants in criminal activities be brought to account. Kirov and Asadov explained the measures taken to safeguard law and order and maintain the inviolability of the republic's borders.

Azerbaijan Party Congress To Resume 27 Jul

NC2507075390.Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 24 Jul 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee informs the delegates to the 32d Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress that the congress will resume its work at the Lenin Palace at 1000 on 27 July. Delegates are to register at the Lenin Palace between 0800 and 0945 on 27 July.

Azerbaijan Komsomol Committee Holds Plenum

NC2507075890 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 24 Jul 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee held a plenum yesterday at which it was decided to convene the 32d congress of the republic's Komsomol on 23 November 1990. The plenum approved the agenda for the congress.

The plenum also examined organizational matters and was addressed by Sahip Alekperov.

Azerbaijani Stance on Soviet-Turkish Trade Viewed

NC2507121790 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Turkey's ANATOLIA News Agency reported on 3 June [as heard] that Azerbaijan has warned Turkey about the dangers of trading with the Soviet Union via the railway connection which is envisaged to pass through Leninakan. Azerbaijan pointed out that this is a trap set by the Armenians.

A commission has been set up under Gasan Gasanov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers, to examine this issue. Abbas Abdullayev, one of the leaders of the so-called Azerbaijan People's Front and a member of the commission, has declared that Turkey should not use the railways for trade with the Soviet Union. According to him, the international rail link, which is also envisaged to pass through Nakhichevan, is insecure because it crosses through southern Armenia. Apparently, this member of the Azerbaijan People's Front, who is no different from the Azerbaijan leaders, looks at the issue of trade between the two countries solely from the yardstick of selfish interests. According to Turkish [as heard] logic, if a road, regardless of who administers it, passes through a unfriendly republic then it is bound to be subjected to blockade and pillage. The Azerbaijanis are forgetting that the Armenians are not highway robbers like themselves. Moreover, the Azerbaijanis alone were advised and implicitly encouraged by the central government to blockade the roads and pillage goods. Unpredictable consequences would have ensued had Armenia resorted to similar behavior.

According to this emissary of the People's Front, Soviet-Turkish trade must serve the future development of Azerbaijan alone. This fact confirms once again the dimensions traditional eastern insolence can assume when it is tolerated and tacitly approved.

Armenian Supreme Soviet 'Far From Efficient'

LD2507223490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1952 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] And what is happening in Yerevan at the moment? Here are the details in a report by Vladimir Nazaryan:

[Nazaryan] The four days that have passed in the work of the new Armenian parliament were far from efficient, even though Vazgen I, the Catholicos of All Armenians, blessed the deputies to work creatively on the first day. With the exception of the statement regulating the implementation of any kind of punitive action by subunits of the Soviet Army and internal forces troops on the territory of Armenia without the permission of the republic's parliament, the new Supreme Soviet did not adopt a single document.

The entire population of the republic is following the session in Yerevan. It is being broadcast live. Today, as in previous days as well, the issue of recognizing the powers of Deputy (Paruir Naretyan) was debated. As is known, for political reasons he was stripped of his citizenship two years ago and was elected a deputy of the republic in his absence. Many parliamentarians—representatives of the all-Armenian national movement and other informal organizations—are demanding that he be returned to his motherland and participate in the work of the parliament.

Nonetheless, the most urgent issue for the session today, for the whole of Armenia, are the election of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and the formation of the republic's government—and one must set about discussion as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

Armenian Supreme Soviet Session Reported

NC2507092390 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0500 GMT 25 Jul 90

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The first session of the 12th convocation of the Armenian Supreme Soviet resumed its work yesterday after a two-day break.

A statement issued in this regard notes that finalizing the composition of the republic's highest organ of state authority is the supreme problem facing the newly elected Supreme Soviet. Unfortunately, the deputies have not yet displayed a serious approach to this problem. Their procrastination was again displayed at yesterday's session. At the morning session it transpired that the deliberations of the session have not been broadcast by radio and television. Hence, it was decided to instruct the State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting to undertake live radio and television transmission of the Supreme Soviet sessions on the first program and report the agenda of the session on the second program.

Major General Surkov, chief of the political department of Yerevan garrison, provided some clarification concerning the arms seizure from the border guard unit in Oktemberyanskiy Rayon.

During the afternoon session, the deputies again took up the issue of Baruyr Ayrikyan [Armenian nationalist leader expelled from USSR]. A draft resolution considering Ayrikyan as not having been deprived of citizenship in our republic was submitted for debate.

The deputies were actively involved in the debate on the draft resolution on the conclusion of a bilateral treaty with the Russian Federation. The deputies endorsed the idea of signing a treaty based on the desire to establish qualitatively new reciprocal relations between union republics. The Supreme Soviet set up a commission to reformulate and (?complete) the existing draft resolution on the basis of proposals made by the deputies.

Central Asia

Reportage on Interethnic Strife in Osh Oblast

Victims To Receive Aid

LD2507093990 Moscow TASS in English 0932 GMT 25 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Boris Mainayev]

[Text] Frunze July 25 TASS—A Soviet parliamentary commission to investigate the ethnic conflict that erupted on June 4 between the Uzbek and Kirghiz people in Osh region, Kirghizia, has completed its work.

"We have studied the situation and, jointly with Kirghiz leaders, developed measures to establish peace in the area," commission Chairman Georgiy Kryuchkov said.

"The state has allocated money to build new houses and restore communications, hospitals and shops in Uzgen, where more than 300 homes were burnt down," he said.

"The USSR Council of Ministers decided to provide aid to the republic, setting up a special commission led by First Deputy Prime Minister Lev Voronin. Kirghizia will be provided with hardware, building materials and money," he said.

Meanwhile, Kirghizia has begun raising money for victims of the Osh tragedy. Shops, several enterprises and transport are working in the city of Osh and its suburbs.

More than 95 per cent of workers reported to work in the service and transport industries, and the figure reached at least 67 per cent among all workers and employees.

The situation remains tense in Uzgen.

Situation Updated 25 Jul

LD2507204990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] [Announcer] The extremely complex interethnic conflict that flared up in Osh Oblast has started to gradually die down. People have at last begun to realize that it is better to resolve the numerous problems by means of peaceful talks. Aleksandr Mirtov, our correspondent in Frunze, reports:

[Mirtov] On the whole the situation remains complex, but already the tendency toward its normalization can be seen. For instance, there was a meeting between leaders of the city, war and labor veterans, and aksakals [elders] in the Osh City Executive Committee, at which the question of a reconciliation between Uzbeks and Kirghiz, and other problems in the normalization of the sociopolitical situation, were examined.

The work rhythm at industiral enterprises in the oblast center is getting going. Stricter measures are being applied to leaders, primarily those of trade and public catering enterprises, in order to stabilize once and for all the situation in the national economy. Large monetary fines have already been imposed on several people for not ensuring the necessary order.

The interethnic conflict that has been going on for two months now has inflicted irreparable material damage. Tens of millions of rubles' worth of products have not been produced. Many delivery contracts have been broken. And that is happening now, on the eve of the republic's transition to regional financial autonomy, when all attention should have been concentrated on problems the solutions to which would have made it possible to go over less painfully to market relations.

Another very serious problem is that of refugees. Incidentally, the concept of internal refugee has appeared, perhaps for the first time, here in Kirghizia. Hundreds of families have been left without shelter, forced to make their way to other regions, to their relatives and acquaintances. After all, one cannot make frightened, emotionally traumatized people return to their place of permanent residence by force of decree. Daily, painstaking work is necessary here. And people's deputies of the republic—deputies of city, rayon, and settlement soviets of people's deputies—are joining in it actively now.

The number of those who have perished in the oblast since the beginning of the mass disturbances has remained the same. Two hundred and twelve people have become the victims of the interethnic conflict.

The MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] bodies have received 840 notifications of people lost without a trace. To date, the whereabouts of 751 people have been established. One sincerely hopes that the rest will be found alive and well.

Length of Troops' Stay Unclear

PM2507205590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by correspondents A. Kaipbergenov and Yu. Razgulyayev: "Light at the End of the Tunnel. On the Events in Osh Oblast"]

[Text] Osh Oblast, 25 June—As has been reported in the press, Colonel General Yu. Shatalin, commander of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Internal Troops, is in Osh Oblast. We met with him and asked him, a participant in the events in all the country's trouble spots, to comment on the situation:

"The sad experience of last year's Fergana tragedy has been taken into account to some extent. The Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] leadership has expressed its attitude clearly and firmly. The events that have occurred are an internal matter for sovereign Kirghizia. In neighboring oblasts of Uzbekistan, party and soviet organs have done all they can to prevent hotheads from interfering in the conflict, which is what some people were urging. The main thing is that the conflict was not allowed to grow to interrepublic dimensions."

[PRAVDA] Yuriy Vasilyevich, how long are the troops entrusted to you going to take the place of local Soviet power and party committees?

[Shatalin] "I would also like an answer to that question. Unfortunately, the organs of power are still not learning from others' mistakes and are 'eager' to make their own. In fact, all interethnic conflicts follow the same pattern. In particular, in Central Asia the bazaar is the first place to buzz with an upcoming event. You would have to be deaf not to hear about it. Life continues to limp along. Problems exist, but they are slow to solve them. The danger will pass, they think."

Clearly, Yu. Shatalin is right. Everyone we have met with in these anxious days has asked: Why did they allow it to happen? Some 212 people killed during mass riots, 411 houses burned, 89 vehicles burned, thousands of refugees appearing in the republic. As in other past and present trouble spots in the country, people continue to be perturbed by the most incredible rumors that are spreading rapidly in the oblast and are sometimes picked up by certain media organs. In such a tense situation any spark can result in unforeseen consequences.

In order to stabilize the situation representatives of party and soviet organs and staff of the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigation group are holding briefings for journalists and are meeting with the oblast's populace. In order to stem the tide of rumors, the work of the Kirghiz and Uzbek SSR Internal Affairs Ministries' press groups is being coordinated and information is being exchanged on an ongoing basis.

M. Shamsutdinov, acting chief of the Internal Affairs Administration political department in neighboring Andizhan Oblast in Uzbekistan, told your PRAVDA correspondents that the situation has been normal in the oblast during the past 24 hours.

Uzbeks, Kirghiz Hold Meetings

LD2607085690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 26 Jul 90

[Text] The situation in Kirghizia's Osh Oblast is gradually returning to normal. Our correspondent, Aleksandr Mirtov, reports:

[Mirtov] Indeed the long-awaited hope for restoration of the former harmony and neighborliness has glinted on the political horizon. Indeed, people have simply grown weary of constant fear and tension. For there is nothing for either the Uzbek or the Kirghiz peasant to (?split up) here—they are equally pained to see the untended cotton plantations, forgotten in the days of interethnic conflict. And I would like to talk about something else. From ancient times the prestige of and respect for the elders, people made wise by life's experience, has been incontrovertible. Now too, much depends on what they say. Now the elders, both Uzbek and Kirghiz, have met leaders in the obalst in the village Mady, Kara-Su Rayon, and discussed all the burning problems. A written pledge was also signed there about the prevention of any kind of future conflicts on interethnic grounds. I believe it was dictated by an impulse from the heart, by a sincere desire to restore peace and harmony.

Presently meetings of Uzbeks and Kirghiz about reconciliation are also taking place in Uzgen Rayon, still the most explosive area in the oblast. Labor collectives representatives are meeting, women and elders are meeting. But you know, such a turn of events is not to everyone's liking; in Uzgen yesterday a motor vehicle belonging to a troop unit was shot at with automatic weapons. Fortunately there were no casualties, but the vehicle was immobilized. At the meetings both Uzbeks and Kirghiz are demanding punishment of all those guilty of murder, violence, arson, and other crimes, and not only the perpetrators but also those who are behind them. I believe that until this does happen, peace, calm, and order are hardly going to be restored here.

Meanwhile at the oblast center's industrial enterprises the work pace is gradually being established. In transportation and consumer services the turnout for work is already 98 percent, in construction it is 95 percent, and in trade enterprises it is 93.6 percent. Loading and unloading work at the Osh-2 train station has been taken under special control.

The situation in Frunze, the republic's capital, remains stable. In connection with the improvement, and taking numerous requests of labor collectives and individual citizens into account, the curfew in Frunze has been reduced. It will now operate from midnight to 0500.

Officials Seek Reconciliation

LD2507111590 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Frunze July 25 TASS—Authorities are working hard to return life to normal in Kirghizia's Osh region.

Osh city authorities met war and labour veterans in the city executive committee to discuss ways to reconcile Uzbek and Kirghiz people.

Some workers are still not reporting to their jobs in the city of Osh. Seven local managers were fined for failing to ensure the work of local shops and public catering services.

An Interior Ministry unit has been sent to the city of Uzgen to maintain order.

A total of 39 crimes and incidents were registered in the region on Tuesday.

MVD Officer on Tear Gas Use

PM2507162590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Forced To Use Special Means..."]

[Text] The situation in the Kirghiz SSR's [Soviet Socialist Republic] Osh Oblast remains tense. Law enforcement organs are seeking to curb passions and to prevent provocative sallies by hooligan elements, still less bloodshed. However, there are forces which are trying to oppose the established order.

Law enforcement organs have been forced to take tough measures. Of course, this only happens after appeals to reason have elicited no response. But sometimes the situation is such that it does not seem possible to defuse the atmosphere through negotiation. And then, acting in accordance with the USSR Law "On the Duties and Rights of Internal Troops of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] in Maintaining Public Order," internal troops are forced to use special means to prevent mass hooligan actions.

Colonel A. Kotlyarov, deputy chief of staff of USSR MVD Internal Troops, explained to your TASS correspondent that special means like "cheremukha" [tear gas] have been used more than 10 times during the exacerbation of the situation in Osh Oblast. In this connection reports have appeared in certain mass media alleging that special means have been the cause of serious outcomes. This does not tally with reality.

Special means have been tested and accepted by an authoritative commission of the USSR Ministry of Health. Their use cannot lead either to injury or, still less, to a lethal outcome. They are tear gas substances and are designed to temporarily suppress psychovolitional stability and to create favorable conditions for the actions of law enforcement organs and troops in stopping hooligan or criminal actions.

The use of special means by internal troops is a forced measure. There will be no need for them as soon as common sense prevails over the raging and fueling of passions in Osh Oblast.

Central Asian Leaders Sign Cooperation Agreements

90US1119A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 26, 30 Jun 90 p 2

[Article by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent B. Maricheva: "Meeting of Top Leaders"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—A meeting was convened in Alma-Ata of the top leaders of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan—I. Karimov, A. Masaliyev, K. Makhkamov, S. Niyazov, and N. Nazarbayev.

Everyone today knows of the misfortunes of this region, converted essentially into the "raw-material appendage" of the country. The republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan have for many years steadily occupied last place with respect to social benefits. The Aral Sea has become a symbol of ecological disaster—disappearing from the face of the earth before our very eyes.

The leaders of these neighboring republics came together, forgetting whatever claims and grievances they might have against each other, to discuss common problems—socioeconomic, ecological, and cultural—and to find optimal solutions for providing mutually beneficial assistance and coordinating their efforts along the determinant headings of perestroyka. As a result of the meeting a declaration was adopted and agreement reached on ecological, scientific-technological, and cultural cooperation between the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], Kazakh SSR, Kirghiz SSR, Tajik SSR, and Turkmen SSR.

The republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan do not share only geographic proximity, a common history, and cultural kinship. In January of this year, for example, the choreography institute in Alma-Ata was transformed into a regional center of institutes of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. On the initiative of the Alma-Ata Conservatory imeni Kurmangaza, orchestras, music and theater groups have been organized which unite students of the various republics.

Ecological problems of the region were discussed in Alma-Ata with particular alarm. An Appeal to the President of the Country and to Its Supreme Soviet was adopted, requesting that the region of the Aral Sea be declared a national disaster zone and that a state program be adopted for restoring ecological balance in the Aral Basin using all-Union funding, and involving specialized United Nations institutions and other international organizations in this effort. It was emphasized at this meeting of top leaders that the agreement adopted by the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan in no way precludes active cooperation with all Union republics or with foreign partners.

I. Karimov, N. Nazarbayev, A. Masaliyev, K. Makhkamov, and S. Niyazov signed an Appeal to the Peoples of the Multiethnic Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan calling for unity, good judgment, tolerance, and strict observance of the constitutional norms and rights of all citizens regardless of ethnic affiliation.

Uzbek Declaration of Sovereignty Published

90US1132A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 22 Jun 90 p 1

["Declaration On Sovereignty," adopted at the Second Session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet 20 June 1990 in Tashkent]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]:

Proceeding from the historical experience of state structure and traditions of the Uzbek people which have formed,

from the right guaranteed every nation to self-determination,

in the name of the highest aim of providing every individual the right to a suitable life,

deeply acknowledging its historical responsibility for the destiny of the peoples of Uzbekistan,

proceeding from international-legal norms, universal human values, and principles of democracy,

proclaims the state sovereignty of the Uzbek SSR.

1. The state sovereignty of the Uzbek SSR is the leadership of the democratic state of the Uzbek SSR in all the integral parts of its territory and in all external relations.

2. The state territory and borders of the Uzbek SSR are inviolable and indivisible, and may not be altered without the will of the people.

3. The state power of the Uzbek SSR is exercised over all parts of its territory and extends to the entire population inhabiting it.

4. Decisions taken by the USSR Supreme Soviet acquire validity in the territory of the Uzbek SSR only after they are ratified by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet in accordance with the Uzbek SSR Constitution.

5. All questions of internal and external policy fall within the jurisdiction of state power of the Uzbek SSR.

6. The Uzbek SSR recognizes and respects the basic principles of international law.

7. The Uzbek SSR determines principles and exercises political, economic, cultural, and other relationships with Union republics and other states on the basis of treaties.

8. The Uzbek SSR determines its own path of development and its own name, institutes its own state symbology—emblem, flag, anthem.

9. The sovereignty of the Karakalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] is guaranteed by the Constitution of the autonomous republic. The Uzbek SSR defends the interests of the Karakalpak ASSR in accordance with its Basic Law and with the Uzbek SSR Constitution.

10. The legislative authority of the Uzbek SSR develops laws and legal provisions necessary for realization of the state sovereignty of the Uzbek SSR, and determines the composition and structure of the political and economic system of the Uzbek SSR.

11. The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet declares its resolve to create a democratic rule-of-law state determined by universal popular referendum, and guarantees to representatives of all nations and peoples residing in the Uzbek SSR the exercise of their legitimate political, economic, ethnic, and cultural rights, and the development of their native language.

12. This declaration comprises the basis for development of a new Uzbek SSR Constitution and new Union treaty.

Adopted at the Second Session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet 20 June 1990 in Tashkent.